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Daily Report
Central Eurasia

FBIS-SOV-95-003 *5 January 1995*

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UN Cuts Ukraine, Belarus Annual Contribution

LD2712195394 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1730 GMT 27 Dec 94

[From the "Diplomatic Panorama" feature: Report by Aleksandr Korzun, Igor Porshnev, and Yevgeniy Terekhov]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Kiev, Dec 27 (Interfax-Ukraine)—The United Nations has decided to reduce the size of the annual contribution to its budget from Ukraine and Belarus, deputy head of the international agencies department Vladimir Yelchenko told a news briefing in Kiev on Tuesday [27 December].

The two countries' contribution will be cut from 1.87 percent to 1.09 percent of the UN budget in the next three years. Yelchenko said this will help Ukraine to save $86 million in the next few years.

Kuchma Says 'Russia Not Always Ready' for Cooperation

AU3012122694 Kiev HOLOS UKRAYINY in Ukrainian 29 Dec 94 p 1

[Unattributed report: "Relations With Russia"]

[FBIS Translated Text] In the course of the 27 December meeting between Ukrainian President Leonid Kuchma and chairman of the Belarusian Supreme Council Myacheslaw Gryb much attention was given to relations with Russia.

"I have always been in favor of a most close integration between Ukraine, Belarus, and Russia. Even now, I do not retract anything I have said to that effect. It is simply impossible for our people to emerge from the crisis without a more extensive integration," Leonid Kuchma told reporters after the meeting. "However, love must be reciprocal. We must finally sit down at a negotiating table and see who actually wants integration and does not." In the Ukrainian president's view, Russia is not always ready for constructive cooperation.

Denmark's Helveg Petersen on EU Chechnya Protest

BR0401153295 Copenhagen BERLINGSKE TIDENDE in Danish 4 Jan 95 p 12

[Report on interview with Danish Foreign Minister Niels Helveg Petersen by Jesper Strudsholm; place and date not given: "EU Warning to Russia Came Late"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Through the German ambassador in Moscow the EU [European Union] countries have protested to Russia over the bloodbath in Chechnya. But internal disagreement among the EU countries seems to have prevented any protest being made until many civilians had been killed.

Not until 30 December was Ambassador Otto von der Gablentz sent to the Russian Foreign Ministry on behalf of the EU with a protest about the killing of civilians.

In an interview with BERLINGSKE TIDENDE Danish Foreign Minister Niels Helveg Petersen (Radical Liberal Party) said that as early as 26 or 27 December—he is not wholly sure about the date—Denmark had been pressing for a joint EU protest.

[Strudsholm] Why did you wait until the tanks were already on the streets of Chechnya?

[Helveg Petersen] There has been a clear escalation of what is happening militarily. Now criticism is appropriate. The latest horrific pictures on television are documentary evidence that the military action being taken is disproportionate.

[Strudsholm] But surely people have been able to see what was coming for a long time?

[Helveg Petersen] I have the whole time considered intervention both unwise and dangerous, because the situation could easily develop into what we have seen—when the civilian population are those worst affected.

[Strudsholm] Why then did you wait until this development actually came?

[Helveg Petersen] You can always discuss timing. But it was only at that point in time that agreement within the EU could be achieved.

[Strudsholm] Who was dragging their feet?

[Helveg Petersen] I have no comment on that. [Helveg Petersen ends]

Niels Helveg Petersen said that the protest to the Russians is based on the current situation. But this does not necessarily mean that the EU will now intervene more robustly in the way Russia treats its minorities.

[Strudsholm] Is this a first step toward supporting Chechen independence—in the same way that we supported the Baltic countries?

[Helveg Petersen] I strongly oppose that comparison. We never recognized that the Baltic countries were part of the Soviet Union. Chechnya has never been recognized as an independent state.

[Strudsholm] But in both cases the Russians incorporated them by force.

[Helveg Petersen] In our relations with Russia we recognize that Chechnya is part of the Russian Federation. But this does not mean that you can disregard the rules about how you behave toward your population.

[Strudsholm] How do you view Yeltsin's chances to survive what is happening?

[Helveg Petersen] I do not want to comment.

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[Strudsholm] There seems to be a struggle in Russia between the democrats and the reactionaries in which at the moment Yeltsin is among the latter. Have we failed the democratic forces by allowing the military and Yeltsin go on for so long in Chechnya?

[Helveg Petersen] Developments have been dangerous the whole time, also for the internal situation in Russia. But I think that we should note the great progress over Stalinism, that here there is an open and pointed debate about the right course of action.

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ITAR-TASS Carries Press Review for 5 Jan 95

LD0501063695 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0619 GMT 5 Jan 95

["Press Review"—ITAR-TASS headline]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Moscow January 5 (ITAR-TASS)—Today's concentrates on the situation in and around Chechnya. Under the headline "Peace Can Be Restored", the ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA newspaper carries an interview with the Russian president's Press Secretary Vyacheslav Kostikov to ITAR-TASS.

"Some people are now inclined to accuse Russia of aggression. Some people abroad found it more advantageous to exploit the situation to challenge the democratic essence of the new Russia. In actual act, an act of aggression was committed against the Russian Constitution, and Moscow is forced to protect it," the press secretary stressed.

In Kostikov's opinion, the question should be raised "not about the competence of actions by the president and the government but about professionalism of the operation's planners and about its poor preparation".

Examining the Chechen events, the IZVESTIYA newspaper notes that "the most striking feature in actions by Russian politicians in Chechnya is their inability to calculate versions of future developments".

In the daily's opinion, "this adventure should be stopped. Above all, the senseless bloodshed in Groznyy should be stopped".

Under the title "Russian Leadership Lacks a Clear-Cut Nationalities Policy", the KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA newspaper runs statements on the Chechen events by deputy speaker of the Russian parliament upper chamber Ramazan Abdulatipov, Kazakh President Nursultan Nazarbayev and Tatarstan President Mintimer Shaymiyev.

Russian Deputy Defence Minister Boris Gromov expresses his opinion on the situation in Chechnya in the same newspaper. In Gromov's opinion, "a ceasefire, a moratorium on combat operations and an immediate start of talks at all levels can be the only correct solution of this problem".

The general hopes that his peace-making calls "will be duly understood, if not by the defence minister, by those who can still take a wise decision and stop this massacre".

The ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI newspaper writes that the Russian president received telegrams on the Chechen events from Russian people during the holidays. For instance, ten out of 24 telegrams received on January 2 call for the earliest restoration of constitutional law and order in Chechnya, the newspaper notes.

The PRAVDA newspaper features an interview with speaker of the Russian lower house Ivan Rybkin. The speaker expresses conviction in the interview, a considerable part of which deals with the Chechen events, that "the conflict will be resolved for sure".

"I believe that all bandit detachments will be disarmed soon, and there will be no civil war," he stressed.

The KRASNAYA ZVEZDA newspaper front-pages today a big portrait of Vladimir Zhitarenko in a black frame: The journalist was killed in Chechnya on January 1 while fulfilling an assignment from the newspaper.

The daily reports that the editorial board and the newspaper's staff plan to petition for conferring the title of the hero of Russia on Colonel Zhitarenko posthumously.

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U.S. Media Calls for Return to 'Reaganism' Noted

MM0501092395 Moscow TRUD in Russian 5 Jan 95 p 5

[Article by Vissarion Sisnev: "Back—to 'Reaganism?' Events in Chechnya Threaten Cooling of U.S.-Russian Relations"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Washington—There is no point in even listing all the U.S. mass media that are nowadays underlining the striking discrepancy between Moscow's official statements regarding the situation and the steps being taken in Chechnya on the one hand, and journalists' reports from Groznyy on the other hand. U.S. politicians and public are receiving first-hand information from Chechnya so to speak: Newspapers and television companies have direct reports from there, including videos and photographs that give a vivid idea of the ferocity of the ongoing battles, the devastation, and the disaster that has befallen innocent people.

In this connection the U.S. Department of State has expressed "deep concern" and stressed that the Russian Government is responsible for the fact that "people not involved in the hostilities are in danger."

At the same time people in the United States are also noticing that, for the first time in many decades, organs of power and the press in Russia are taking up diametrically opposed positions on such a topical issue as Chechnya. Whereas the former are striving to gloss over the gravity of the situation, the media are providing readers, listeners, and viewers with an objective picture in both their reports from the Caucasus and their editorial commentaries. THE NEW YORK TIMES Publishing House Press Service has disseminated an article headlined: "Russian Press Demonstrates Independence." The article begins with the following words: "Russian newspapers are justifying their avowed liberal orientation." And the article ends: "The Russian mass media have nothing to be ashamed of in their coverage of the war. They are manifesting a desire to show both sides of the events, for honest analysis, and to uphold their viewpoint."

Needless to say, comparative analysis of the positions espoused by official Moscow and the Russian press on the Chechen issue is not being done simply in order to give our fellow journalists an approbatory slap on the back. Being pragmatists, Americans are wondering how and to what extent this phenomenon concerns their country and what should be done by way of response, if one is necessary. And I am hearing increasingly frequently that the need for such a response is coming to a head. Yeltsin seems to have been right in predicting that U.S.-Russian relations might become complex after the Republicans' victory in the congressional elections. Judging from the recent statement made by Senate Majority Leader Robert Dole, U.S. aid for Russia will be linked with our country's observance of human rights. He hinted that the "military operations and death of civilians in Chechnya potentially complicate congressional support on the question of aid for Russia."

Sharper voices can also be heard warning that "Russia has not yet become the 'evil empire' but Bill Clinton must keep it from becoming such." This was what observer Morton Kondracke said; his column is printed by most leading newspapers at once. He insisted on something that others have already said, albeit in a milder form: It is time to abandon overly friendly relations with Russia and remember that one doctrine alone "rebuffed the onslaught of imperialism, namely 'Reaganism.'" Kondracke, who represents the conservative stream, advised Clinton to also draw conclusions from Russia's refusal to sign the Partnership for Peace treaty and from the bloodshed in Chechnya. And embark on the policy of "deterrence," which Reagan successfully employed.

The situation that has developed in connection with Chechnya clearly frees the hands of those who do not want equal relations with Russia, but want the United States to occupy a dominant position in the world. And let us hope that the poisonous shoots of a "cold peace" do not emerge from the ashes of the "Cold War" as it were thanks to our own ill-conceived actions and insincere promises....

U.S. View of Chechnya 'Changed Dramatically'

MM0401154195 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 5 Jan 95 p 4

[Report by Melor Sturua: "Washington Losing Faith in Russian President and His Ability To Govern the Country"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Minneapolis—Over the last few weeks the tragedy of Chechnya and the drama of Bosnia have featured in the same section of the news bulletins on all television channels. Depending on where there was more bloodshed, first one then the other country came out ahead. But on New Year's Eve Chechnya overtook Bosnia once and for all. And now they have even been split up, since a truce has been established in Bosnia through the efforts of former President Carter—admittedly an extremely fragile truce, but a truce nonetheless.

"A week is a long time in politics," British Labour Prime Minister Harold Wilson once said. Over the last week the attitude of the United States—of the public and official Washington—to events in Chechnya has changed dramatically. The hopes promoted by President Yeltsin's speech on television have vanished rapidly under the influence of television reports from Groznyy. Along with them went faith in the Russian president himself and his promises. The State Department is no longer voicing "cautious optimism" or justifying the bloodshed in Chechnya by reference to the need to preserve "Russia's unity," much less at any price.

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The Congress has moved on from sour excuses to outright accusations. The change of guard in the Capitol, where the majority in both houses has passed into Republican hands, has intensified still further the criticism of Moscow and its attempt to bring Groznyy to its knees. The newly constituted Republican Congress has already taken up a tough position toward Russia in all parameters—from financial aid to the future configuration of NATO. The "Chechnya factor" is playing the most active role in this toughening process.

"Moscow cannot be trusted"—that is the watchword among the general choir of critics. Yeltsin promised to stop the aerial bombing of Groznyy, yet those bombings have been stepped up. Moscow announced the capture of Dudayev's "presidential palace" but television screens show it still in Chechen hands. In an interview with NBC-TV Russian Foreign Minister Kozyrev said that "armed gangs cannot be tolerated in downtown Moscow or Los Angeles," while Americans are seeing armed people in downtown Groznyy on their television screens. Many Congressmen caustically recall what Boris Yeltsin said on Capitol Hill to the effect that Moscow would no longer lie to its negotiating partners or to the Russian, U.S., or any other people.

Yeltsin had assured the U.S. Congress that this practice was at an end. But it has proved to be far from the case. Robert Dole, leader of the new Senate Republican majority, along with other congressmen, has also said as much. Even Anthony Lake, President Clinton's national security adviser, failed to find words to excuse the carnage in Chechnya—a "minor but brutal war."

There has been a switch from talking about the invasion of Chechnya as a "miscalculation" on Moscow's part to categorizing it as a crime and even a fatal mistake, recalling Talleyrand's words to the effect that stupidity is more dangerous in politics than crime. The fate of democracy in Russia has been placed in jeopardy and consequently the fate of peace in Europe and worldwide.

People here regard the use of force in Chechnya as the result of the weakness of the democrats in Moscow. THE NEW YORK TIMES writes that Yeltsin will suffer defeat not only at the hands of Chechen militia but also at the hands of ultranationalists and neocommunists in Moscow. Senator Mackey expressed doubt whether the Russian president is in charge of events, never mind the country. The press depicts him as "a prisoner in the Kremlin, manipulated by the military and the secret police." The newspapers write that Chechnya "has eroded Yeltsin's popularity," that "Chechnya is Yeltsin's disgrace."

Americans are inclined to personalize events and phenomena. So it is quite understandable why the New Year issue of THE NEW YORK TIMES called the war in Chechnya "Boris Yeltsin's war" by analogy with the war in Vietnam, which was dubbed "Lyndon Johnson's war." Of course, Chechnya and Vietnam, the Caucasus and Southeast Asia cannot be equated absolutely. Comparison does not always constitute proof, but the newspapers here are making and as it were bolstering the comparison, writing that Yeltsin like Johnson inherited his war from his predecessors and was embroiled in the escalation of the conflict, like Johnson once again, in many respects against his wishes—by fate and his entourage, cruel fate and a shortsighted entourage.

There is some truth and some latitude in all this. But one thing is indisputable. No "extraneous circumstances" can relieve the statesman whom the fates decreed would lead the country and the people of the main responsibility. The amount of power dictates the amount of responsibility. And history does not accept excuses. Or good intentions.

McCurry on U.S.-Russian Relations in Light of Chechnya

MM0501112195 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 5 Jan 95 p 4

[ITAR-TASS report: "Chechen 'Episode' in Russian-U.S. Relations"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Washington, 4 Jan—U.S. relations with Russia are based on a "wide range of interests which are strategic for U.S. security." U.S. Department of State official spokesman Michael McCurry stated this at a briefing for journalists Tuesday [3 January]. He emphasized that the state of U.S.-Russian relations "is not determined by one episode such as the present crisis in Chechnya."

"It is essential for these very important relations between our two great powers to be effective," M. McCurry emphasized. "For the United States these are very important strategic relations and they should be built very skillfully." Here he added that the contacts which both countries' representatives are maintaining "are by no means limited to the problem of Chechnya."

Having gone in some detail into the Chechen problem, M. McCurry pointed out that "this is obviously a very complex internal matter for the Russian Government." This problem "has caused an extraordinary number of disputes (in Russia), but this happens in democratic societies," the Department of State spokesman added.

M. McCurry emphasized that the United States "adheres strictly to the principles and international standards with regard to Europe which are associated with the CSCE." This in particular applies to the "existing mechanism for changing borders." "Inasmuch as Chechnya is part of the Russian Federation, its status should only be changed in such a manner as would correspond to these international standards and practice," M. McCurry indicated.

At the same time, he went on, the United States has expressed its concern both through diplomatic channels and publicly "about the tactics chosen by Russia which is leading to a much greater number of deaths than, in our

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opinion, should be the case." "We proceed from the conviction that a peaceful solution should be found to this conflict which will allow bloodshed and deaths to be avoided," he noted.

At the same time the Department of State spokesman indicated that in the history of the United States, "which has a very long democratic tradition, there was an episode when we fought against a separatist movement in an armed conflict, which we call the Civil War." "I am not drawing any parallels," he noted, "but we should remember our own history when we turn our gaze to another democracy involved in matters which it is trying to resolve within a democratic framework."

Moscow Studying World Reaction To Chechnya Developments

LD0401152595 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1459 GMT 5 Jan 94

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Moscow, Jan 4 (Interfax)—Moscow is closely studying international reaction to the latest developments in Chechnya, the director of the Press and Information Department of Russia's Foreign Ministry Grigoriy Karasin told Interfax on Wednesday [4 January].

"Concern over developments in Chechnya is quite understandable. The Russian leadership also feels it," the high-ranking diplomat pointed out.

As he said, "the Russian Foreign Ministry is using diplomatic channels—Russian Embassies—to explain Moscow's stand in regard to the foreign-policy aspects of what is taking place in Chechnya." "We proceed from the assumption that these developments are an internal affair of the Russian Federation Chechnya is a part of," Karasin stressed.

Government Statement on NATO Reaction to Chechnya Crisis

LD0401210695 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 2052 GMT 4 Jan 94

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Moscow 5 Jan [date as received] (TASS)— The press service of the Russian Government has circulated the following report today:

"The military and political leadership of NATO member-states is closely following the developments in Chechnya. Member-states of this alliance have been maintaining a reserved enough position on this problem, regarding the developments in Chechnya as Russia's internal affair."

The report says, in particular, "that the Defence Ministry and defence headquarters of Great Britain are deeply studying Russia's military operations in Chechnya, using reports sent by foreign correspondents directly from the area of the conflict. The operations to deploy Russian troops in Chechnya and take under control the cities of Groznyy and Argun have been assessed as the one of the most large-scale and unique operations in recent years.

British military commanders have been critical, analyzing tactical aspects of some acts carried out in the framework of the chechen campaign. In their opinion, under conditions of the Chechen conflict a greater role should have been played by troops specially trained to conduct operations in cities with heavily built-up areas.

Envoys Speak on Mercenaries' Participation in Chechnya

LD0401194595 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1916 GMT 4 Jan 95

[By ITAR-TASS diplomatic correspondent Andrey Shtorkh]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Moscow January 4 TASS—Ambassadors of Afghanistan, Iran, Pakistan, Jordan and Saudi Arabia submitted their explanations to the Russian Foreign Ministry today in connection with the participation of mercenaries from their countries in combat operations on the territory of Chechnya, Russian Foreign Ministry spokesman Grigoriy Karasin told ITAR-TASS in an exclusive interview.

According to the Foreign Ministry spokesman, two meetings of diplomats with senior officials of the ministry were held on Wednesday [4 January].

During the first meeting the attention of the ambassadors of Afghanistan, Iran and Pakistan was drawn to the facts of the recruitment of mercenaries on the territory of Afghanistan and in refugee camps in Pakistan who later are transported through the territories of the states of this region to Chechnya and had been participating in military operations there on Dzhokhar Dudayev's side.

"The Russian side called Afghanistan and Pakistan to take measures for stopping the formation of mercenary units, and urged the governments of Iran and Pakistan to block the routes of mercenaries' transportation to the Russian borders," Grigoriy Karasin said.

According to him, the ambassador of Afghanistan put the responsibility for sending mercenaries to Chechnya on Afghan groupings opposing President Rabbani whom he is representing in Russia.

The ambassadors of Iran and Pakistan, in their turn, assured that Tehran and Islamabad "will take additional measures to prevent the penetration of Afghan militants-mercenaries through their borders, including air routes".

The ambassadors confirmed the invariability of the position of the states they represented with regard to the events in Chechnya, which was based on the recognition of the fact that this was Russia's internal affair, the Russian Foreign Ministry spokesman stressed.

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As for today's invitation to the Russian Foreign Ministry of the ambassadors of Saudi Arabia and Jordan to Moscow, they were familiarized with reports on the participation of mercenaries from some Arab countries in military operations on the territory of Chechnya, Grigoriy Karasin pointed out.

According to him, Russian diplomats "expressed hopes that the governments of Saudi Arabia and Jordan will take the necessary measures to put a stop to the illegal penetration of citizens of their countries to the Russian territory".

The ambassadors of Saudi Arabia and Jordan assured that their governments regarded the events in Chechnya as Russia's internal affair, noting at the same time that the Islamic world was standing for the soonest cessation of combat operations and the transition to a political settlement, Grigoriy Karasin pointed out. He also informed that the ambassadors had denied their governments' involvement in sending foreign mercenaries to Chechnya and their financing.

Asked by ITAR-TASS about the appraisal of the Chechen events by the world community on the whole and, in particular, in a number of statements by the Conference for Security and Coordination in Europe (CSCE) and the European Union, the Russian Foreign Ministry spokesman said as follows. "We are closely watching the reaction to the Chechen crisis by foreign states".

"It is quite explicable that the present situation and the course of the events in Chechnya is arousing concern not only of the Russian leadership. We have been carefully studying the reaction expressed by foreign states and informing the Russian leaders about it," Grigoriy Karasin noted.

Appraising the current changes in the world community's reaction to the events in Chechnya, Grigoriy Karasin stressed: "If there are some changes in the approaches of Western countries to the Chechen problem, this is a tone of their statements but the essence remains the same: the events in Chechnya is Russia's internal affair, however it would be desirable if Russia go over to a stage of the political settlement as soon as possible. Russia has been striving for this, too."

Moscow Protests Mercenary Recruitment

LD0401184795 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1800 GMT 4 Jan 95

[FBIS Translated Text] On 4 January, the ambassadors of Afghanistan, Iran, Pakistan, Saudi Arabia, and Jordan, and also the Turkish charge d'affaires were invited to the Russian Foreign Ministry. Their attention was drawn to cases of the recruitment of mercenaries on the territory of these states to take part in combat actions in Chechnya on the side of Dzhokhar Dudayev. The Russian side stated firmly that the leadership of the above-mentioned states should take all necessary measures in order to halt the formation of groups of mercenaries and to block routes used for transporting them to the borders of Russia, INTERFAX was informed by a Foreign Ministry spokesman. The spokesman said that all the heads of diplomatic missions who had been invited confirmed that the position of the states they represent was that the events in Chechnya are Russia's internal affair and this position remained unchanged. They denied that official authorities in their countries participated in sending foreign mercenaries to Chechnya and financing them.

Kostikov Says No Signs of Political Crisis in Moscow

LD0401202995 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1945 GMT 4 Jan 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Moscow, Jan 4 (INTERFAX)—Russian President's Press Secretary Vyacheslav Kostikov described the rumors of political instability in Moscow circulated in certain Western financial quaerters as utter misinformation.

"Today was one of the quietest days in the work of President Boris Yeltsin. He had numerous meetings, in particular with heads of numerous force agencies. When his working day ended, the president left quietly for home," Kostikov told INTERFAX.

He emphasized that there were no sings of a political crisis in Moscow.

Kostikov believed that the rumors originated from misinterpretation of an address issued by Grigoriy Yavlinskiy, leader of the YaBLoko group in the State Duma, demanding resignation of the president. Kostikov noted that this was an opinion of one Russian statesman which could not bring about political changes.

He said that it was business as usual for President Yeltsin.

'Chechnya Crisis' Not on Kozyrev-Christopher Talks Agenda

LD0401153395 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1500 GMT 4 Jan 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Moscow, Jan 4 (Interfax)—Moscow stems from the belief that the "Chechen crisis" will not be discussed during the talks between Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev and U.S. Secretary of State Warren Christopher in January.

"The situation in Chechnya is not a subject for the talks," Director of the Russian Foreign Ministry's North American Department Nikolay Spasskiy told Interfax on Wednesday [4 January].

He said, however, that the two officials would discuss the entire spectrum of bilateral relations, "including the

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implementation of the agreements reached during President Yeltsin's visit to the U.S. in September 1994," said Spasskiy.

In his opinion, "the main accent will be put on European affairs." "Kozyrev and Christopher will discuss the situation in former Yugoslavia, problems of peacekeeping and other issues," he said.

With reference to the agreement with the American side, he did not say when and where the talks would be held. "They will take place in the near future. An official announcement is likely to be made on Thursday," he said.

According to sources in the Foreign Ministry, the meeting is likely to be held in Geneva on January 17 or 18.

Foreign Ministry Protests Tajik Opposition's Border Attacks

LD0401150495 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1339 GMT 4 Jan 95

[By ITAR-TASS diplomatic correspondent]

[FBIS Translated Text] Moscow, 4 Jan—The Russian Foreign Ministry demands that the leaders of the Tajik opposition and the authorities of the Islamic State of Afghanistan immediately take effective measures to prevent provocative actions by fighters against subunits of the border troops.

This is said in a statement of the Russian Federation Foreign Ministry received at ITAR-TASS today and made in connection with another act of banditry by the Tajik opposition on 2 January on the Kalai-Khumb section of the frontier guards detachment.

While the frontier guards were moving with the aim of thwarting a crossing by fighters and of liberating local people held hostage, the frontier guards' detail came under fire from fighters from the territory of Afghanistan and Tajikistan. As a result, nine Russian frontier guards were killed and eight wounded.

Russian frontier troops, the statement says, are doing everything possible to stabilize the situation on the Tajik-Afghan frontier. At the same time, they reserve the right to resolutely thwart any unlawful actions vis-a-vis the frontiersmen and the frontier forces' facilities using all the forces and means at their disposal.

The Russian Federation Foreign Ministry calls upon the UN mission in Tajikistan to take measures to ensure the unconditional fulfillment of the agreement on the temporary cease-fire, to prevent bandit actions against Russian frontier guards and also to make an objective assessment of the hostile actions of the armed opposition on the Tajik-Afghan frontier.

DPRK Daily Reports People's Demand for Goods Satisfied

SK0401142995 Moscow Voice of Russia World Service in Korean 1200 GMT 4 Jan 95

[FBIS Translated Text] PYONGYANG TIMES, the English language paper published in Pyongyang, reports on 4 January that the DPRK has the necessary technology and a firm basis to solve all problems for the nation's prosperity and the promotion of the people's welfare through its own efforts and resources.

PYONGYANG TIMES reports that the Republic possesses all key sectors necessary in the people's economy. These sectors include the heavy industry, light industry, metal industry, electric power industry, and building materials industry.

PYONGYANG TIMES continues that the DPRK is domestically producing heavy machines, such as a 10,000-tonne class large-sized (?press) freight car, ships, and machine tools.

The paper reports that currently all sectors in the light industry, including the production of textile, foodstuff, and mass consumption goods, are operating at full scale to satisfy the people's increased demand for consumer goods.

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Political Issues

Kostikov Denies Political Instability, Grachev Resignation

LD0401192295 Moscow Radiostantsiya Ekho Moskvy in Russian 1900 GMT 4 Jan 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Vyacheslav Kostikov, press secretary to the president, today denied the rumors about political instability in Moscow. In his words, today was one of the quietest days for Boris Yeltsin. Kostikov also stressed there was not a single sign of a political crisis in the Russian capital.

Also today, the presidential press service spokesman denied the rumors about a possible resignation by Defense Minister Pavel Grachev.

Citizens Write Yeltsin on Chechnya Question

MM0501105195 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 5 Jan 95 p 1

[Review of letters: "What Russians are Writing to the President"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The president continued to receive telegrams from Russians about events in the Chechen Republic during the holiday period. The New Year toasts and the cheerful singing obviously were unable to blot out other sounds—the sounds of war— in the hearts of our compatriots, particularly as the combat actions reached their peak during the New Year celebrations. So people continued to mail their far from festive texts.

What kind of texts? On 2 January the department of the Russian President's Staff which deals with citizens and with their letters prepared the following review of telegrams:

Some 24 telegrams addressed to the Russian president and containing assessments of the situation in Chechnya were received in the space of a day. Ten of them called for the speediest restoration of constitutional order in the Republic.

"We declare support for the resolute actions by the president and government to resolve the crisis in Chechnya"—board of the Amur Regional Center of the Russian Movement for Democratic Reforms.

"We approve the measures to strengthen the integrity of the state and law and order"—A. Zalesskiy, Smolensk.

Muscovite A. Osmolovskiy, while backing the presidnet, also asks: "Why does Sergey Kovalev not tell the Chechen leadership to stop the war, surrender its weapons, declare hard currency accounts, and determine the population's share of the fabulous profits of the criminal groups?"

The authors of another nine appeals demand an "immediate end to the bloodshed." Three are still relying on the possibility of talks with Dudayev. Two telegrams were sent by soldiers' mothers asking for their sons to be sent back from the conflict zone. Most of these appeals were sent by individuals. The only collective opinions were in a telegram from the Republic of Ingushetia Council of Public Organizations and a joint statement by the Union of Women, Committee of Soldiers' Mothers, and administration of the city of Shakhty in Rostov Oblast. Both appeals demand an "end to hostilities."

Gorbachev Calls For Urgent Parliament Session on Chechnya

LD0401211995 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1945 GMT 4 Jan 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Moscow, Jan 4 (INTERFAX)—Former USSR president Mikhail Gorbachev calls for an emergency session of both houses of parliament which would debate the Chechen crisis and hear President Boris Yeltsin's report.

Gorbachev believes that those guilty of the tragedy must be named at the session and a commission of independent and influential figures set up.

He demanded in a statement, made available to Interfax Wednesday [4 January], that the troops withdraw to the positions they occupied before the assault on Groznyy.

The statement says that the Chechen war became a nation-wide crisis which has engulfed all branches of authority. The Executive Branch has shown its inability to rule the country or find a political solution to the continuing drama. The Legislative Branch is for various reasons wary of resolute action. As a result people are killed every day and more civilians fall victim of air raids.

Gorbachev said in the statement that the Army which is increasingly deeper involved in the war with the people had become the hostage of a criminal policy.

The statement says: "The need in pre-term elections of all branches of power has become evident as never before. The regime, which is guilty of a shameful and bloody adventure, must go. After it shed blood again, the regime can never win back the confidence or support of the people. It can stay in power only by sacrificing the democratic future of Russia. The chances for a constitutional and democratic resolution of the crisis are receding daily. If we do not use them, Russia will be doomed to a national disaster."

Shakhray: Failure in Chechnya Shows Lack of Efficient Army

LD0501104195 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1018 GMT 5 Jan 95

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Tamara Zamyatina]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Moscow January 5 TASS—"The failure of the military operation in Chechnya

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shows that Russia has no efficient Army," Sergey Shakhray stated in ITAR-TASS today. He was appointed recently chairman of the government commission in charge of information and analytical support for the handling of the crisis situation in the Chechen republic.

On the basis of that conclusion, Shakhray came up with a forecast that "the Chechen crisis will probably give an impetus to the beginning of real reforms in the Army."

The vice premier of the Russian Government did not rule out a possibility of the Army "being turned into an independent political force, which will make demands on the president and the Cabinet of Ministers."

According to Shakhray, the Army "has long mastered two methods of removing the military leaders it does not like. The first one is the nonfulfillment of orders. The second one is their idiotic fulfillment. We see today both of these methods used in Chechnya."

Responding to the question of ITAR-TASS about a possible removal of Russian Defence Minister Pavel Grachev from his post as a result of the procrastination of the military operation in Chechnya, Shakhray, who is also a member of the Security Council, said that in a short perspective Grachev's resignation can hardly be expected.

He stressed that he had set forth his ideas about the reasons for the loss of efficiency by the Russian Army at sessions of the State Duma, the government and the Security Council. He believes that one of the reasons is "the rivalry between the 'power structures', with the Defence Ministry, for example, trying to get dividends from the mistakes, made by the Federal Counterintelligence Service and the Interior Ministry."

Speaking about the participation of the federal Army in the Chechen crisis, he stressed that, in his opinion, it is necessary "to localize the role of the Army as quick as possible, to pass over to the creation of a people's chamber in the Chechen republic, which will be made up of the well respected representatives of the population, and to begin the restoration of the railway and the creation of institutions of the transitional period for preparing free elections, which may be held within a year and a half or two years."

Deputy Defense Minister: 'Idiots' Running Chechnya Campaign

AU0501102595 Vienna KURIER in German 5 Jan 95 p 5

["Exclusive" interview with Deputy Defense Minister Gromov by Livia Klingl; place and date not given: "Idiots Are Responsible for the Organization"]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Klingl] What is your opinion of events in Chechnya? The Russian Army is not exactly heaping glory on itself in its Caucasus campaign.

[Gromov] If such an operation is not prepared by sensible people and if they are not involved in the organization and implementation, then, logically, it is being handled by idiots.

[Klingl] May I quote you?

[Gromov] I am saying it. And, unfortunately, if one does not have the opportunity to change things oneself, one has no other choice but to watch the terrible pictures on television.

[Klingl] There is nothing more to say about it?

[Gromov] What could I say? Like any normal person, I despair when I watch the terrible pictures on television, but I cannot do anything about this matter. I have not been involved in events for more than two weeks. The only thing I can do is visit the hospitals and wish the injured soldiers a happy new year.

[Klingl] Given the circumstances, should Defense Minister Grachev, the commander of the campaign in Chechnya, not resign?

[Gromov] In the army one must not publicly broadcast one's opinion about the boss. But if you look at what I said at the beginning, you will understand what I think about the matter.

Consequently, the operation was carried out without the relevant study and in a hurry because any other result was hardly possible. And the considerable forces that were mustered piecemeal across Russia were simply unable to collaborate without training.

I see no justification for this haste. I do not understand what hampered the political process and prevented the troops being prepared for every eventuality.

[Chernyak] Do you agree that the failure of the operation to storm Groznyy represents a disgrace for the Russian Army?

[Ivashov] The disgrace is that the Army was embroiled in this affair. But I would not conclude that the Army is not combat capable. It is not ready to perform precisely these tasks. The troops, the command, and the staffs were trained for classic combat operations, they were not taught to fight on their own territory against their own people.

[Chernyak] State Duma Deputy Osovtsov, who recently arrived from Chechnya, said that Russian Army and Internal Troops special subunits have still not taken part in the combat operations but have been used as barrage detachments [zagradotryady] with which we are familiar from Stalinist times. Is that true?

[Ivashov] Hardly. The special forces have been trained to storm the presidential palace although they were indeed at the rear.

[Chernyak] How do you regard Yeltsin's edict on drafting reserve officers?

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[Ivashov] I have not seen the text of the edict. But if it exists, it was probably dictated by an endeavor not to totally denude those districts from where troops were redeployed to Chechnya and to maintain at least minimal combat readiness there. It is also the result of the ill-considered scale of the Chechen operation and forecasting of its consequences, and of the incompetence and over-confidence that we have seen.

[Chernyak] In your view, will Grachev keep his post this time and how do you foresee events developing on the whole?

[Ivashov] Needless to say, scapegoats will be found; admittedly, I do not know whether the defense minister will be among them, that is a matter for the president. Groznyy will undoubtedly be captured. The question is at what price, how many people will die, and what the political consequences will be. I do not think that this will add to the stability of Russian statehood.

General Slams Chechen Operation Planning

MM0501095595 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 5 Jan 95 p 2

[Interview with Lieutenant General Leonid Ivashov, secretary of the CIS Defense Ministers Council, by Igor Chernyak; place and date not given: "The Disgrace Is That the Army Was Embroiled in This Adventure"—first paragraph is introduction]

[FBIS Translated Text] Until May 1992 Lieutenant General Leonid Ivashov held a leading position in the USSR, then Russian Defense Ministry. Today he is secretary of the CIS Defense Ministers Council.

[Chernyak] Leonid Grigoryevich, as a civilian there is something I do not understand: A month ago, after the first unsuccessful assault on Groznyy, Grachev said that only a fool could bring tanks into the city. He flew to Chechnya 31 December and on 1 January, the defense minister's birthday, there was another tank attack on the Chechen capital. What kind of military stratagem is this?

[Ivashov] That is a question for Grachev. But tanks are not the point. There are doubts as to the well-considered nature of the entire Chechen operation. The people who organized it were most likely confident that, as in the case of the bombardment of the White House, they would get away with everything, therefore they did not even work out the consequences.

[Chernyak] Do you think that the operation in Chechnya has already failed?

[Ivashov] I think that is obvious. Another major act of stupidity has been perpetrated.

[Chernyak] But were the arguments employed by the presidential side—regarding the threat of Russia's breaking up and the domination of armed bandits in Chechnya—not convincing?

[Ivashov] That is all quite true. But a military operation is the last resort; political, economic, and all other measures should be employed before that, possibly with military pressure.

If a decision to carry out a military operation is nonetheless made, it should be treated appropriately when it is being prepared. First, the political and military objectives of the operation and the means of attaining them should be defined and, second, the necessary forces and means—bearing in mind a comprehensive evaluation of the enemy, the nature of the locality, and so on, including the weather conditions. It is necessary to thoroughly prepare the troops by holding training sessions for both units and subunits and staffs and to organize collaboration, all-around support, and so on. Tremendous political-educational work is also needed to ensure that the troops—from the commander of the operation to the enlisted men—are in no doubt as to its political and military advisability, something that has been somewhat forgotten. Not to mention ensuring political backup for the operation by the public, instead of which we have had constant lies which only put a considerable proportion of Russia's population in a negative mood and demoralize the troops.

[Chernyak] Excuse me for saying so but all that you have said is rudimentary and known to any graduate of a military school.

[Ivashov] Undoubtedly. Once again, however, our past method of making unsubstantiated promises and attempting to implement them by the scheduled date was employed. There were, after all, promises to capture Groznyy within two hours or within five or six days, which undoubtedly put pressure on the people organizing the operation.

Gromov: Cease-Fire 'Only Right Way' To Solve Chechen Crisis

LD0401191195 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1728 GMT 4 Jan 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Moscow January 4 TASS—"A cease-fire, a moratorium on military operations and an immediate beginning of talks at all levels", is the only right way of the settlement of the Chechen problem, Colonel-General Boris Gromov, deputy defense minister of the Russian Federation, told ITAR-TASS today.

"Our peacekeeping activities in 'hot spots' of the former Soviet Union, on the territory of Yugoslavia and other countries of the world makes it possible for us to preserve thousands of human lives as these actions are aimed at defending man, his rights and personal dignity. But actions of our troops in Chechnya are based on quite different principles", General Boris Gromov noted.

"Now Russian citizens have been shedding their blood, no matter whose interests they are defending. Again our soldiers and officers die. Again mothers, wives and children are shedding tears weeping for their dears.

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Grief, death and destruction have come to the Chechen land instead of peace," the colonel-general emphasised.

General Boris Gromov declined to comment on the appraisal of his position as a "peacemaker" which had been given by Russian Defense Minister Pavel Grachev on Moscow television on January 1.

"This is not the time for estimating similar statements. The only thing which is causing an alarm is an attempt to distort the very notion of a 'peacemaker'. In the words of the defense minister it sounded like a curse", General Boris Gromov stressed.

Military Lacks 'Exact Information' on Dudayev's Status

LD0401184695 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1631 GMT 4 Jan 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Moscow, Jan 4 (INTERFAX)—Military intelligence does not have exact information on whether Dzhokhar Dudayev is alive or not, a high-ranking official of the Main Intelligence Department of the Russian Armed Forces General Headquarters told Interfax.

He said information of Chechen sources alleging that "Dudayev is no longer in Chechnya or anywhere" was now being checked.

In the interim, well-informed sources in the Russian Defense Ministry said in an interview with Interfax that the heads of the Chechen armed units could organize a revolt against Dudayev.

A representative of the Russian Security Council told Interfax that he doubted information spread by Chechen sources. He said Dudayev himself could have launched the allegation in order to see how people would react to it.

Task Force To Reinforce Federal Troops in Chechnya

LD0401204095 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1631 GMT 4 Jan 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Moscow, Jan 4 (INTERFAX)—Federal troops in Chechnya will be reinforced by a Defence Ministry task force. An army group might be set up on its basis for covering advanced command posts, anti-sabotage operations and combatting "the most capable and dangerous formations."

This was disclosed to Interfax by well-informed sources in the Russian Army command.

According to the sources, the army group will consist of the Chief Intelligence Department task force homebased near Moscow and individual task force units from Central Russia. Officers from the elite 27th motorized infantry brigade which used to belong to the USSR KGB will also be involved in operations in Chechnya.

Military observers draw attention to the fact that the personnel of the formations which the federal command plans to use in Chechnya has been trained for landing operations ruling out the mass use of armored vehicles. The task force will be armed with laser aiming and homing devices that should "rule out imprecise air attacks," Army experts believe.

Army sources also say that Russian troops are also stepping up air reconnaissance of Groznyy using several planes and helicopters. In their opinion this should help develop a system of determining and attacking targets that has not been used in army operations since the Desert Storm (the Gulf war).

A high-ranking army official accounted the use of "conventional means of destruction" by federal troops at the first stage of the operation in Chechnya to "poor weather conditions and underestimation of the enemy."

Stepashin Report on 'Radically' Changed Chechen Situation

LD0401201795 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1700 GMT 4 Jan 95

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[FBIS Translated Text] During last night and in the first half of today the situation in Groznyy and its environs changed radically, the government press service reported today. At 1720 hours [1420 GMT] today, a telephone conversation took place between Oleg Poptsov, chairman of the All-Russian State Television and Radio company, and Sergey Stepashin, director of the Federal Counter-Intelligence Service [FSK], who said literally the following:

Yesterday according to the FSK and the military command a radical change took place in the military situation. The federal troops in the city are fully in control of the city's center. During last night and today, federal troops suffered no loses of personnel or equipment. Special groups and bodies of internal forces are clearing fighters from various areas of the city. There are no losses among the units.

During the second half of yesterday, fighters and illegal armed formations began to retreat en masse from the city toward the south. Yesterday aircraft made a strike against the retreating formations, against a column of fighters that had left the city. Ten tanks and several dozen combat vehicles were destroyed.

(Sultan) Geliskhanov, director of the state security department of Chechnya, got into contact with the FSK leadership and said he was prepared to act together with his units against the Dudayev regime. He requested security guarantees and these were given to him.

At the present time 1,500 servicemen from the reinforcements are clearing fighters from the city. In the near future Prime Minister (Salambek) Khadzhiyev will begin

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fulfilling his duties in the city of Groznyy. At the present time the federal troops have sealed off Dudayev's palace. But as our prisoners and deputies are in the basement of the palace, the troops have been instructed to set an ultimatum for the immediate hand-over of weapons. The main task is to ensure the safety of the prisoners of war and the deputies.

Yavlinskiy Fears Federal Use of Chemical Arms in Chechnya

LD0401201095 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1631 GMT 4 Jan 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Moscow, Jan 4 (INTERFAX)—Grigoriy Yavlinskiy, leader of the Yabloko Group in the State Duma, suspects the federal authorities of intending to use chemical weapons in Chechnya.

He sent a letter of State Duma Chairman Ivan Rybkin saying that the rumors spread by the official propaganda about Chechen fighters using poisonous agents arouses suspicion that the Russian top officials were contemplating the use of chemical weapons.

Yavlinskiy did not rule out the possibility that the command insisted on using chemical weapons for the sake of a quick victory and reduction of friendly losses.

He warned that neither goal would be achieved and this secret could not be kept. Yavlinskiy is convinced that "should it do that, Russia will bring shame on itself, find itself in total isolation and be guilty of crimes against humanity."

He wrote in the letter that all statesmen involved in making the decision on using chemical weapons would be regarded as war criminals. Yavlinskiy called on Rybkin to do his best "to prevent this monstrous act if our fears are not groundless."

Yegorov Says Russian Troops Will Take Groznyy 5 Jan

LD0401195595 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1933 GMT 4 Jan 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Moscow January 4 TASS—Russian President Boris Yeltsin has ordered military chiefs to halt bombing targets in the Chechen capital Groznyy from midnight Wednesday (21:00 GMT), the presidential press service said.

The press service said the decision followed reports about the situation in Chechnya and its capital Groznyy made by Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin, ministers and heads of other federal agencies.

Meanwhile, Russian Vice-Prime Minister Nikolay Yegorov [name and title as received] said that "Russian troops should take Groznyy without fighting on January 5."

Speaking at a news conference in Mozdok, North Ossetia, on Wednesday, Yegorov stressed that as the troops advance into the Chechen capital, "the legitimate government of Chechnya should also move to Groznyy."

"The legitimate government of Chechnya" was established in December 1994 and is led by Salambek Khadzhiyev, former Soviet oil minister.

The press service of the Russian Government quoted commanders of the federal armed forces in Groznyy as saying that "sporadic shoot-outs between militants and Russian troops broke out in the city today."

"According to military intelligence, militants continued to leave the city in the southern and southeastern directions throughout the day. At the same time, illegal armed formations made consistent attempts to enter Groznyy from the West. The attempts were disrupted by decisive actions on the remote approaches to the city. They were attacked with high-precision rockets," the press service said in a statement.

"Interior Ministry troops, supported by units of the Defence Ministry, continue to clear the city of illegal armed groups. Representatives of the provisional administration are making preparations for a transfer of the government of national revival of the Chechen Republic to Groznyy," the statement said.

Russian human rights commissioner Sergey Kovalev, who is in Nazran (capital of neighbouring Ingushetia), said that the events in Groznyy will determine the fate not only of Chechnya, but of the whole Russia. He described the present situation in Groznyy as a "pre-storm" one and said he will seek a meeting with Russian President Boris Yeltsin.

The ambassadors of Iran, Pakistan, Jordan and Saudi Arabia presented the Russian Foreign Ministry with explanations concerning their mercenaries fighting in Chechnya, Russian Foreign Ministry spokesman Grigoriy Karasin told ITAR-TASS.

He said two meetings between foreign diplomats and responsible Foreign Ministry officials were held on Wednesday. "The Russian side called on Afghanistan and Pakistan to take measures to stop the forming of mercenaries' units and urged the Governments of Iran and Pakistan to block the routes of their movement to Russia's border," Karasin said.

Germany continues to consider the Chechen conflict as Russia's internal matter, German Foreign Ministry spokesman Dieter Vogel said. At the same time, he noted that Germany and other Western countries urge Russia to enforce human rights in the Chechen Republic in accordance with the principles of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe.

Bulgarian Foreign Ministry spokesman Radko Vlaikov expressed deep regret at the loss of life in Chechnya. He also stressed that the Bulgarian Foreign Ministry considers the Chechen conflict Russia's internal affair.

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'Text' of Yeltsin Order To Halt Bombing of Groznyy

LD0401172795 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1705 GMT 4 Jan 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Moscow January 4 TASS—Russian President Boris Yeltsin has ordered military chiefs to halt bombing targets in the Chechen capital Groznyy from midnight Wednesday (21:00 GMT), the presidential press service said.

The press service said the decision followed reports about the situation in Chechnya and its capital Groznyy made by Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin, ministers and heads of other federal agencies.

Following is the full text of the statement released by the presidential press service on Wednesday:

"Today, January 4, 1995, in the Kremlin, Russian President Boris Yeltsin heard out the reports of Russian ministers, heads of other agencies and chairman of the Russian Government Viktor Chernomyrdin about the situation in Groznyy and on the territory of the Chechen Republic of the Russian Federation.

"The administration of the Russian president presented a report about the appeals from citizens, and the positions of various political forces, groups of deputies of both houses of the federal assembly, the mass media and other sources concerning the armed confrontation on the territory of the above member of the Russian Federation.

"On the basis of the obtained materials, as well as in connection with the commencement of work to restore the economy and normalise life in Groznyy, and guided by the desire to prevent new casualties among civilians, Russian President Boris Yeltsin has ordered the heads of military departments to stop bombing targets in Groznyy as of 00:00 hrs. January 5, 1995."

Government Berated for Concealing Chechnya Body Count

MM0401155595 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 5 Jan 95 p 1

[Report by Valeriy Yakov: "Military Madness With Anticipated Casualties"]

[FBIS Translated Text] After the clear failure of the latest storming of Groznyy the Russian Government press center has begun actively rebutting reports of troop losses and the failure of the storming itself. The rebuttal was expressed essentially not in figures but in a cynical phrase—the losses were even "less than anticipated."

We tried to find out what the military-political strategists mean by the the concept of "anticipated losses" and what those losses were supposed to have been in this inglorious campaign. As was to be expected, the Defense Ministry's Information Directorate refused to comment on any report connected with the events in Chechnya. "We know nothing" about anticipated losses, "nothing is known" about the actual losses, and as for the number taken prisoner or missing in action, it was the same again.

At the government press center they explained that they do not comment on the military's words and there are no concrete figures on troop losses at the moment, but "work on the next information report is continuing and Sergeyev is coordinating it with Mozdok by phone right now, so perhaps some figures will be given."

Unfortunately the editorial office could not wait for Mr Sergeyev to coordinate with the combat [boyevoy] ministers on what figures are to be given to the press and what figures are to be disguised by quite absurd expressions such as "the losses are a factor less than the Chechen side is reporting."

We have been forced to publish [this report] without the real data which the leaders of the bloody campaign on the approaches to Groznyy are strenuously and shamelessly concealing. The government's operational staff led by O. Soskovets, the Defense Ministry led by P. Grachev, and the Ministry of Internal Affairs led by V. Yerin have been concealing the concrete results of their activity not only from journalists and the public but also from the parents of those officers and men who through the will of the above-mentioned strategists find themselves in the category of "anticipated losses."

Economic Issues

Finance Minister Interviewed on Budget Compromises

LD0401200495

[FBIS Editorial Report] Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian at 1450 GMT on 4 January carries a 5-minute report on an interview with Russian Finance Minister Vladimir Panskov, who comments on the Russian State Duma passing the first reading of the state budget.

Panskov says the government was prepared to compromise on many of the Duma's proposals. He says:

"The Duma passed the budget in its first reading with certain amendments; but these amendments do not alter the concept of the budget and thus we can consider that the Duma agreed with the main directions for the development of the country's economy and all the main attributes of the budget put forward by the government. As far as concerns amendments, yes, there were amendments but we put forward these amendments together."

Panskov says the conciliation commission made up of representatives of the Duma and the government discussed and agreed on many of the amendments. The Duma's proposal to raise the minimum wage to 54,000 rubles, he says, was unacceptable to the government as it

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would cause economic chaos. The conciliation commission agreed to a compromise of raising the minimum wage to 34,400 rubles from 1 March. Further minor amendments, he says, may be introduced in the second reading. He concludes with the following:

"We shall work on these deputies' amendments and if these amendments are sensible, then for heaven's sake, why not accept them?"

Gaydar Interviewed on 'Radical Economic Reform'

LD0401223495

[FBIS Editorial Report] Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian at 1725 GMT on 4 January carries on its 10-minute "Details" program an interview with Yegor Gaydar, former Russian prime minister and leader of the Russia's Choice party. Announcer Nikolay Svanidze says 4 January is the third anniversary of the beginning of the radical economic reform in Russia. He asks Gaydar, the architect of the reform, what he thinks of its progress. Gaydar says he has never been given enough time to go through with his plans and that the Russian economy would be in a better state now if he had not been dismissed. He says economic reform is a foundation for a non-aggressive, non-imperialist foreign policy, which his government would have pursued if it had stayed in office.

Svanidze then says that, in the minds of many Russians, Russia's failures in Chechnya are linked to the failure of economic reforms and therefore to his, Gaydar's, name. Gaydar replies:

"I think Russia's bloody and irresponsible venture in Chechnya is an integral part of that economic and political turn-about that began at the end of 1992 and took a definite shape by the end of 1993, when the president's know-all advisers told him that in accordance with our national tradition the word—state—should have a metallic ring to it."

He denies that Russia's inability to conquer Chechnya resulted from the general weakness caused by economic reforms. He says:

"Chechnya is a fragment of those disastrous processes connected with the disintegration of the Soviet Union, the price we have to pay for Gorbachev's inconsistent and compromise-ridden policy in 1985-90. I began my work in the government on the day when the shady venture in Chechnya organized by Rutskoy fell through."

Asked what would happen if the Russian troops seized Groznyy, Gaydar says:

"Of course, the military victory in Groznyy is inevitable, but it is equally inevitable that this victory will not resolve any questions in Chechnya."

According to Gaydar, this will lead to guerrilla fighting and a perpetual state of war, as well as to the establishment of authoritarian rule in Russia itself:

"Several more months of such war and we shall have no free press; then the government's entire macroeconomic program for 1995 will most certainly be thrown to the winds, as well as all hope of stopping inflation in 1995. Naturally, a different scope of military expenditure will be needed, and therefore a different scope of credits to cover the budget deficit. High inflation will bring about shortages on the commodities markets and therefore attempts to introduce rationing at least on some foodstuffs, the weakening of democratic institutions, and the stepping up of the role played by purely coercive political structures and methods."

Finally, the announcer asks Gaydar: "If you had a chance to start the radical democratic reform anew, would you do it again?"

Gaydar replies: "Yes, I would."

Media Issues

Journalists Protest Distortion of Facts on Chechnya

LD0401220895 Moscow Radiostantsiya Ekho Moskvy in Russian 1900 GMT 4 Jan 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The Moscow Charter of Journalists issued a statement today, saying that a political crisis which turned into a war in Chechnya has been an excuse for large-scale violations of journalists' professional rights. A large number of high-ranking state figures have already been caught distorting the facts relating to the war in Chechnya. In this connection the charter resolutely protests to the authorities and calls on its fellow-journalists not to spread the news reports of the official propaganda bodies without thoroughly checking them.

Injured Press Official Returns to Moscow From Chechnya

LD0401183995 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1621 GMT 4 Jan 95

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Tamara Zamyatina]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Moscow January 4 TASS—Valeriy grishin, deputy head of the Russian Government's Press Service, who was shell shocked near the Chechen capital Groznyy on January 1, 1995, returned to Moscow.

At the approaches to Groznyy in the area where illegal armed troops are concentrated, Valeriy Grishin was knocked down by a blast. He was seriously hurt, the deputy head of the press service said in an interview with ITAR-TASS today.

Valeriy Grishin does not conceal that he experienced and is still feeling keenly a psychological stress. On returning to Moscow he reported for work. Asked why he was not lying in bed, Valeriy Grishin replied: "I cannot sleep because explosions are sounding in my ears".

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At the same time he believes that the blast which knocked him down "cannot be compared with the trial being experienced by Russian servicemen and civilians in Chechnya".

Valeriy Grishin refrained from a political appraisal of the events in Chechnya.

Army Paper Carries Grachev Regrets on Reporter's Death

MM0501104395 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 5 Jan 95 p 1

[Message of condolence from Army General P. Grachev, Russian Federation defense minister: "To the KRASNAYA ZVEZDA Editorial Office Collective," dated 1 January 1995]

[FBIS Translated Text] Please accept my sincere condolences in connection with the tragic death of Colonel Vladimir Mikhaylov Zhitarenko, a member of the KRASNAYA ZVEZDA editorial collegium and a leading military journalist, while he was carrying out his military duty and his duty as a journalist.

He was a true officer, for whom the honor of the Army and the good of the fatherland came first. His constant aspiration to be at the front line, in the "hot spots," in extreme conditions, where a man in uniform is tested through and through and risks his life, and where the true spirit of the Army is manifest, reflects the best traditions and lofty purpose of our military newspaper, KRASNAYA ZVEZDA.

Vladimir Zhitarenko's articles about people of courage and duty provide a genuine picture of our Russian serviceman, who is prepared to carry out his duty to the end. As thousands of our military comrades are carrying it out today. As Col. Vladimir Zhitarenko himself carried it out.

At this tragic hour, I express feelings of grief and support to his wife, Valentina Vasilyevna, to his son, Senior Lieutenant Oleg Vladimirovich Zhitarenko, and to all of his friends and relatives.

[signed] Army General P. Grachev, Russian Federation minister of defense

1 January 1995

Paper Hits 'Official Lies' on Chechnya

MM0501100995 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 5 Jan 95 p 1

[Report by Valeriy Simonov: "No Powder, No Truth, No President"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Russia entered 1995 on its hands and knees in blood. We raised our glasses of champagne and wished one another happiness while at that moment in Groznyy people were dying, dying, dying. Our boys, raised, incidentally, in the new "democratic" Russia, were getting bullets as their 19th or 20th New Year gift.

These boys have been lying around their burned-out tanks and armored personnel carriers for five days now, while everyone photographs them and videos them to show on television screens all over the world. Yet on our TV screens people are joking and dancing, singing and making toasts, and it is only a rare and fleeting report from Chechnya that interrupts them. People cannot stand to see this kind of thing any more. They cannot stand seeing the face of a worthless commander who has sent hundreds of soldiers to their deaths. Or to hear the bleating of speakers complaining about the imperfect state of the Constitution or the weighty arguments of the politicians along the lines of: "It's a tragedy, of course, but...." It is nauseating to see the pious expression of the Patriarch of Moscow and All Russia pontificating on television about the restoration of a cathedral.... Is the church divorced from life, as in the old Soviet tradition?

Go to the devastated city and explain to its remaining inhabitants that all this—the bombing, the blazing oil, the floods of refugees—is for their own good. Tell the incinerated tankmen and their mothers that constitutional order demands sacrifices. Promise the Army, with that increasingly wolf-like glint in its eye, that its exploits will not be forgotten by its grateful descendants. Because that is indeed the essence of the official reports, interpretations, and brazen lies which have outdone much of the kind that we have known in our bitter history. Just consider this phrase: "Russian troop losses were less than anticipated...." Or: "The military's actions have fallen a long way short of outstanding...." Even Mikhail Andreyevich Suslov would not have thought of that one!

As we cross the threshold of 1995 we can finally abandon many of the illusions which lingered in society until recently. Now it is clear that **there is no powder in Russia's kegs** and that there is no danger of washing our kersey socks in the Indian Ocean. Instead what we have is an army which has been driven into a corner and is becoming an increasingly uncontrolled and dangerous factor in domestic politics. At one time Matthias Rust's prank was enough for all the generals to be dismissed. What more does it take now to prove that the present defense minister and his immediate assistants are not up to the job?

The situation with the Truth is absolutely clear as well—it is absolutely superfluous in the current presidential team's armory; it is a nuisance, just as certain circumstances are a nuisance to the man who gave that poor rendering of Kalinka. Everyone around is pretending that there are two or more forms of the truth. But that is not the case at all: The truth is being told either by Sergey Kovalev and Deputy Kurochkin or by Valentin Sergeyev, director of the Russian Government's Interim Information Center. One of them is lying. Those people who saw the NTV pictures from Groznyy have no doubts on that score.

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In his famous appeal Boris Nikolayevich accused some newspapers and some journalists of being in Dudayev's pay. The president's services offered no evidence to support that claim despite a request from the chief editors of the leading Russian publications, so permit me to count Boris Nikolayevich's allegation among the torrent of official lies. But it is not the accusation which is offensive—what is more offensive is that no one is particularly incensed at the untruth in the mouths of the state's leaders. Have we become accustomed to that kind of thing?

It is more complex with the president. He is the president, so it seems. I emphasize the word "seems." Deputies, politicians, and public figures have been packing the country's main reception room in the hope of forcing their way through to "open his eyes," as Gogol wrote: Let him see and hear for himself what is actually happening in and around Chechnya. But how naive we are—how obscenely so! Were we not consoling ourselves a year ago with the base thought: Thank God that everything has been sorted out; it could have been far worse, so to hell with the makeshift Constitution, the vaudeville parliament, and the absence of a Constitutional Court. Just so long as there is no war....

It didn't work! [Editorial note: The commentary is accompanied by a photomontage showing Yeltsin raising a glass with a decorated tree in the background and uniformed, seemingly headless, corpses in the foreground]

S. Filatov Greets Paper's Readers

MM0501115595 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 5 Jan 95 First Edition p 1

[Message from Sergey Filatov, Russian Federation President's chief of staff: "Find Your Own Perspective"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Esteemed journalists and readers of ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI, on the eve of 1995 your creative collective and the Russian Federation President's Staff became cofounders of this popular Russian publication. None of us has a controlling package of shares. We are equal partners, equally accountable to readers for the paper's intellectual and moral content.

The birth pangs of the new Russia's statehood are severe. The paper can influence this process by ensuring feedback between the authorities and society. Try to furnish people with the truth about their plans, decisions, and actions. Write without worrying about what the authorities think. Because that is the only way to fully reflect Russians' real perception of the authorities' actions and the processes taking place in society.

In his New Year congratulations our president stressed that as far as he is concerned there is no task more important now than that of restoring peace and normal life in the Chechen republic, North Ossetia, and Ingushetia.

For my part, in the new year I would encourage readers of ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in our difficult times to find their own perspective and make what contribution they can to the rebirth of Russian statehood and worthily accomplish the difficult and at times dramatic transition from totalitarianism to democracy. The achievement of stability, accord, and peace in society remains an important condition of national rebirth. I wish you happiness and success in the new year!

Sergey Filatov, Russian Federation President's chief of staff.

Editorial Office's New Year Message to Readers

MM0501113595 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 5 Jan 95 p 1

[New Year greetings message from KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA Journalists: "Greetings! KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA Will Not Betray Its Readers, Convictions, or Decorations in 1995"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Of course we would like to make the first issue of the new year different—scintillating and intoxicating, like bubbling champagne. Of course the traditional new year editorial—a life-affirming article, in keeping with the laws of the genre—is not the best place in a newspaper to talk about death. But there is death, reflected in the tearful eyes of a mother leaning over a youngster killed in Chechnya. And we do not know what faces may yet replace his dead face on the front page of KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA....

In May our newspaper will be 70 years old. We are preparing for this milestone. The long-established reader will notice some unfamiliar elements in the newspaper's format and some new features which have become established—such as sports and television. For the new reader (and our numbers are growing by hundreds of thousands) there are some tried and tested perennial features which we hope will become old friends: "Window on Nature," "Scarlet Sail," "33.3," "Third Call," "Hen Night," and "If you have lost your way in this world." Before the holiday we want to return to some of last year's outstanding debts: There are some people with whom we have outstanding arguments (the KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA Investigations Department is preparing a series of exposes on the forthcoming presidential election campaign); there are some matters of love to finish off (the thematic features "Men and Women" and "Erodrom" based on the results of readership polls have generated a lot of negative response—and a lot of positive ones, too!); there are things to ridicule (on New Year's Eve a contract for regular serious joint special features was signed between KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA and KRASNAYA BURDA, the well-known humorous news magazine which has twice won the "Golden Ostap" prize [reference to Ilf and Petrov's comic character Ostap Bender].)

We do not want to celebrate our New Year and yours, dear readers, under wartime regulations—with windows

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criss-crossed with tape and pages criss-crossed by the censor's pen. But yesterday our special correspondent sent the latest frontline reportage from Groznyy. And today another team of KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA reporters is going to Chechnya together with a delegation of soldiers' mothers to help out the young prisoners of war who just a year ago, in civilian life perhaps, were engrossed in our reports about the stars of sport and rock music....

What will tomorrow bring?

The telephones are ringing in the editorial offices these days. Sometimes they bring unpleasant calls, accusing us of incitement, of pro-Chechen feelings, and of anti-Army hysteria. But we are simply producing a newspaper. The newspaper with which you, the readers, has entered 1995. Why? We would venture to hope that we know the answer to that. And we promise you that we will remain true to ourselves—both in the trenches and at the jubilee celebration table.

Federal Assembly

CP's Zyuganov Demands 6 Jan Duma Debate on Chechnya

LD0401152795 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1416 GMT 4 Jan 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Moscow, Jan 4 (Interfax)— The State Duma deputies representing the Communist Party proposed holding an emergency session of both houses of the Russian Parliament on January 6.

Faction leader Gennadiy Zyuganov has sent a message to the speakers of both houses Vladimir Shumeyko and Ivan Rybkin, which says that such a session must be held, "in view of the emergency situation caused by the escalation of the armed conflict in Chechnya."

Zyuganov also proposed that "the president and prime minister, the members of the Security Council, the leaders of the ministries and departments, involved in the settlement of the conflict, and the members of the Constitutional Court" be invited.

Fedorov Faction Urges Yeltsin To Stop Chechnya Action

LD0401142495 Moscow Radiostantsiya Ekho Moskvy in Russian 1300 GMT 4 Jan 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The Liberal Democratic Union of 12 December has demanded that the president should immediately stop bombings and halt all hostilities in Chechnya until the leadership of the power structures is replaced and professional soldiers are substituted for all conscripts. A statement from faction leader Boris Fedorov also urges the State Duma to vote no confidence in the government.

Observers Investigating Use of Toxic Agents in Chechnya

LD0401143795 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1400 GMT 4 Jan 95

[By ITAR-TASS parliamentary correspondent Ivan Novikov]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Moscow January 4 TASS— Sergey Kovalev, the authorised representative of the Russian Federation on human rights, has not supplied to the State Duma "any specific materials about human rights violations in Chechnya and limited himself to mere statements", deputy speaker of the State Duma Valentin Kovalev, chairman of the provisional commission monitoring the observance of constitutional rights and freedoms, told a news conference in Moscow on Wednesday [4 January].

He also said that "under certain circumstances the State Duma may adopt a decree to expand the use of amnesty for persons on Dudayev's side, and, specifically, "to enable mercenaries to leave the Russian territory unimpeded".

The deputy speaker also said that the State Duma declares for the priority of peaceful political means of settling the conflict in Chechnya, for imposing a moratorium on fighting in Chechnya. He noted, however, that "a moratorium is a two-way process", and that Dzhokhar Dudayev's illegal armed formations yet have no intention to disarm.

Informing journalists of a regular meeting on Wednesday of the commission he heads, Valentin Kovalev said that the commission monitors and analyses the entire information received from Chechnya. He was unable to give a precise answer to questions of journalists about casualties of Russian troops.

The deputy speaker called the attention of the press to facts of the use of hydrocianic acid and chlorine by Dudayev's supporters in combat operations and said that a special group of observers of the commission flew to Chechnya to investigate the use of toxic agents. Valentin Kovalev refuted allegations about planned deportation of Chechens. "Russia will not permit any deportation", the chairman of the provisional commission said.

Duma Official: No Human Rights Violations in Chechnya

LD0401140595 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1325 GMT 4 Jan 95

[By ITAR-TASS parliamentary correspondent Ivan Novikov]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Moscow January 4 TASS—The State Duma (Russian Parliament lower house) "has received no materials on human rights violations in Chechnya" from Russian Human Rights Commissioner

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Sergey Kovalev, Valentin Kovalev, deputy speaker of the State Duma and chairman of the temporary watchdog commission monitoring constitutional rights and freedoms of citizens, told a news conference in Moscow on Wednesday.

He added that the commissioner "limits himself only to statements".

The deputy speaker also noted that "under specific circumstances, the State Duma can take a decision on expanding conditions for applying amnesty to people supporting Dudayev". For instance, "it can give a chance to mercenaries to leave the Russian territory without obstacles".

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Official on Use of OSCE 'Experts' in Chechnya

LD0401143695 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1200 GMT 4 Jan 95

[FBIS Translated Text] In the nearest future Moscow will give an official answer to the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe [OSCE] proposal to send a group of experts to Chechnya to study the human rights situation there. This information was given today in an interview to INTERFAX by a high-ranking official of the Russian Foreign Ministry. He noted that a request to send such a mission should come from the Russian Government.

According to the agency's information, a conference of the leadership of the diplomatic directorate opened today at Smolenskaya Square, at which, in particular, questions of the West's growing worries over the develpments in Chechnya are being discussed. It is chaired by Igor Ivanov, first deputy foreign minister, who replaces Andrey Kozyrev, who is on a short vacation.

Defense Ministry Denies Ingush Attack

LD0401152895 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1416 GMT 4 Jan 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Mozdok, Jan 1 (Interfax)—The Russian Defense Ministry's spokesman in Mozdok has denied the reports about a bomb attack allegedly delivered on the Ingush village of Arshty near the Chechen border. He told Interfax on Wednesday that "the populated areas of the Ingush Republic have not been bombed or shelled."

He also said that Russian warplanes had destroyed two armored vehicles belonging to illegal armed groups one kilometer east of the village of Arshty on January 3. The Defense Ministry has photos of the destroyed armored vehicles taken from air, he said. No information about victims is available.

He also announced that the federal aviation continued to deliver precision blows on the Dudayev militants' armored vehicles and strongholds in Groznyy. The so-called presidential palace was not bombed, because there are Russian POWs and wounded soldiers inside it, he said.

He announced that Russian warplanes had attacked about 70 armored vehicles belonging to the illegal armed groups near the city of Shali on January 3. The armored column had been moving towards Argun. "The air strike prevented the transfer of the armored vehicles to the southern part of Groznyy for Dudayev's supporters," he said.

He described the reports about the bombing of residential districts of Shali as "provocative". The strike was delivered on the armored column outside the city, he said.

'Source' Cites Use of Russian 'Live Shields'

LD0401153495 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1416 GMT 4 Jan 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Mozdok, Jan 4 (Interfax)—The Chairman of the Chechen Provisional Council Umar Avturkhanov has spoken against the surrender of small arms by opposition formations as long as "Dudayev's armed gangs operate in the republic and Groznyy has not been captured completely".

The press service of Interior Ministry troops in Mozdok informed Interfax Wednesday that Avturkhanov made the statement at the talks between officers of Interior Ministry troops and representatives of the Provisional Council.

According to the press service, similar negotiations on the surrender of arms were conducted with the administration of Achkhoy- Martan region, Chechnya. The local leaders admitted that local residents have small arms but denied any presence of heavy arms. During the talks it was announced that there are as many as 10,000 refugees from Groznyy in the region who have been settled with Chechen families irrespective of their ethnic background.

Meanwhile, Interfax has learned from reliable sources in Mozdok that there is a Russian woman in the city hospital wounded during the fighting in the approaches of Groznyy and picked up by the personnel of the 129th motorized infantry regiment.

She said that like other Russian residents of Groznyy she had been used by Dudayev's militants as a live shield. She said Russian civilians were put in front of Chechen militants and ordered to move in the direction of Russian positions.

She said that those who refused were shot dead. When the militants had to keep their positions the tendons of civilians were injured to prevent them from moving.

Lebed on Use of 'Military Means' in Chechnya

LD0401155695 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1521 GMT 4 Jan 95

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Valeriy Demidetskiy]

[FBIS Translated Text] Kishinev [Chisinau], 4 Jan—"The Chechen problem cannot be resolved by military means," an ITAR-TASS correspondent was told by Lieutenant General Aleksandr Lebed, commander of the 14th Army.

"Unfortunately, I have no precise information regarding the situation in Groznyy; nor would I want to draw conclusions from the information, often false, that appears nowadays in the press and on television. If I did that, I might become like the Russian defense minister, who said that he would take Groznyy in two hours with the forces of a regiment. You know what came of that."

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Unfortunately, the general continued, our conflicts are often started by the politicians, and it is the lads in shoulder straps who clean up the mess. These politicians know well that neither they themselves nor their near and dear will come under fire. That fate always falls to the lot of completely innocent people.

Kovalev Predicts 'Storming;' Groznyy in 'Ruins'

LD0401161795

[FBIS Editorial Report] Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian at 1430 GMT on 4 January carries a four-minute telephone report from Stavropol Kray by correspondent Pavel Gutskov. Gutskov says that he received a telephone call half an hour ago with human rights activist Sergey Kovalev, who is currently in Nazran en route for Moscow. The Duma deputies Mikhail Molostvov, Valeriy Borshchev, and Yuriy Rybakov have remained in Groznyy, he notes. According to Gutskov, Kovalev said he expects to arrive in Moscow tomorrow, and to hold a news conference in the afternoon.

Gutskov continues: "Giving a forecast of the possible development of events, Sergey Kovalev said that he expects the leadership of the Defense Ministry and the other power ministries have no other way out now except to storm Groznyy in the near future in order to justify all the preceding events. He predicts that the storming could take place tomorrow. He sharply attacked the tactics of the Defense Ministry and other power ministries. He said that Groznyy is now nothing but ruins. Sergey Kovalev even said that it reminded him of pictures of Stalingrad during the Great Fatherland War. He gave his personal impressions of the city he had literally just left. He said that 150 meters from the place where they spent last night, a hospital is on fire. The occupants had already been evacuated, although some people who were undergoing surgery when the attack came, died, because the surgery was interrupted. The House of Officers is also burning. He also said that he could not confirm official reports that Groznyy is under Russian control. According to him, his impression is that the three Russian groupings in the city were defending themselves desperately against the combat actions being conducted against them."

Gutskov ended his report by saying that Kovalev said he would insist on meeting Yeltsin because the president is personally reponsible for events in Chechnya.

Ilyushin Calls for Talks Without Pre-Conditions

MM0401170195 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 5 Jan 95 First Edition p 1

[INTERFAX report: "If There Were Just Good Will...."]

[FBIS Translated Text] Right now it is hardly likely that anyone will be able to cite the exact date for the full solution of the crisis in Chechnya but it is obvious that only official, immediate entry of Groznyy into negotiations with the federal authorities—without any preliminary conditions—can be a step toward its resolve in the interests of the Russian Federation and all Russians. This was stated by Viktor Ilyushin, the Russian Federation president's first aide, in an exclusive interview with an INTERFAX correspondent.

Right now, V. Ilyushin believes, a very great deal depends on the official Chechen leadership because the fully empowered representatives of the Russian head of state are permanently in the crisis region. So D. Dudayev "has no problems in immediately establishing direct contacts with them, if, of course, there is good will in that direction," V. Ilyushin indicated. Stories that telegrams from official Groznyy are not reaching the Russian Federation's top leaders are "unconvincing," he said.

It is impossible, V. Ilyushin continued, to view without pain the scenes filmed over the New Year in Groznyy, they make everyone's heart bleed. Nevertheless in the opinion of the Russian Federation president's first assistant "some well known and some as yet embryonic Russian politicians, using the extremely contradictory reports coming in from Groznyy, are continuing to mine some kind of "seam of gold" in the tragedy of this republic, a component of the Russian Federation. For some people it seems to be a kind of "political Klondike," V. Ilyushin noted. But, he noted, the spectrum of specific proposals to regulate the crisis "is not great for these politicians, unfortunately."

In V. Ilyushin's opinion, for all the contradictory nature of the facts and figures coming in from Groznyy "we have no grounds for not trusting official Russian sources," V. Ilyushin said. At the same time, he stressed, these figures and pictures convince us "that the armed confrontation of the sides in Groznyy is now so great and from the Chechen side seemingly also not greatly controlled that the federal organs simply have no other way of completely resolving the crisis." "To prevent further loss of human life official Groznyy should immediately enter into contact with the president's fully empowered representatives without any preliminary conditions," the Russian Federation president's first aide stressed. Another way of putting an end to the tragedy in this part of the Russian Federation "does not exist in practice," he added.

Cossack Leader on Russian Death Toll

LD0401190295 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1726 GMT 4 Jan 95

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Viktor Zhilyakov]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Krasnodar January 4 TASS—The death toll among Russian troops in Chechnya reported by their [own] commanders corresponds to the reality, a Kuban Cossack leader said.

Aleksey Anikin, head of Kuban Cossacks in the Krasnodar region, who has just returned from Chechnya, said

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that the statements by some Russian deputies about hundreds of servicemen killed or captured in Chechnya aimed at intimidating ordinary people and forcing the government to withdraw its troops from Chechnya.

Anikin said he had met pilots who had confirmed that they had been ordered not to use bombs within two kilometers from Groznyy.

He also said that infantry officers had been using their personnel very sparingly. Otherwise, the city would have been taken long ago. The troops have everything they need for this, he added.

Chechen Denies Opposition to Dudayev

LD0401201595 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1631 GMT 4 Jan 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Groznyy, Jan 4 (INTERFAX)—The head of the Chechen Security Department, Sultan Geliskhanov, has described as "rubbish" reports by the Russian Government media that he was allegedly ready to fight against Dudayev.

"Now every Chechen is defending and will defend himself, his relatives and his independence against the aggression by Russian troops," he pointed out in an interview with an INTERFAX correspondent in Groznyy Wednesday. Moscow's attempts to drive a wedge between the Chechen are "more than absurd," he added.

Medical Chief on Wounded Soldier Evacuations

LD0401203995 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1631 GMT 4 Jan 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Moscow, Jan 4 (INTERFAX)—Two groups were created for evacuating wounded servicemen of the Russian interior troops from the zone of the Chechen conflict, Chief of the Military- Medical Department under the Main Command Department of the Russian Interior Troops, Colonel Vladimir Morozov told Interfax.

He said the groups had a helicopter and an AN-72 plane with intensive care specialists and anesthesiologists. The wounded are bought to hospitals of the Russian Defense Ministry and the interior troops in Nalchik and Novocherkassk.

Morozov stressed that medical workers were instructed to deliver the wounded to hospitals in not longer than two hours after they were wounded. Every unit of the interior troops gave for this purpose an armored vehicle. Hospitals of the interior troops were established in Mozdok and Kizlyar (North Ossetia). Morozov said that "not a single wounded serviceman died when being evacuated."

Military medical workers have been sent to all battalions of the interior troops. More surgeons have come to the military medical services.

All servicemen were given clearing water filters in order to prevent intestinal diseases. No epidemic has yet been registered among the interior troops in the zone of the military conflict in Chechnya.

Special Russian Units Hunt 'Black Jackals'

LD0401172595 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1657 GMT 4 Jan 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Moscow, 4 Jan (Itar-Tass)—According to information from military sources, illegal armed formations in Groznyy include the 'Black Jackals' detachment numbering about 50 people, a report by the Russian Government's press service received by ITAR-TASS says today. These fighters, the report says, have gained military experience fighting in Nagorno-Karabakh and Abkhazia. They are distinguished by particular cruelty. Their groups, numbering four-six people, attack individual servicemen, killing them and mutilating their bodies.

The command of federal troops, the government's press service reports, has instructed special sub-units to capture or destroy the 'Black Jackals.' The special sub-units have started to carry out the instruction.

Defense Ministry: No Special Troops

MK0501085595 Moscow MOSKOVSKIY KOMSOMOLETS in Russian 5 Jan 95 p 1

[Report by Vladimir Kartashkov: "There Are No Special Troops in Russia To Assault Groznyy"]

[FBIS Translated Text] For all the seeming multitude of special-purpose subunits, the Defense Ministry does not have a single military unit trained to carry out combat operations in urban areas against a well-armed enemy. Nor do the other power structures have such units. The last special subunit designed specifically to assault well-fortified buildings was disbanded by Boris Yeltsin's edict last February. At the time the president resubordinated the "Vympel" subunit to the Internal Affairs Ministry, and 400 officers out of 430 retired.

Highly publicized special-purpose brigades have never been tasked with mounting assaults on enemy targets. They are best suited to sabotage operations or reconnaissance missions. There is no need whatsoever to carry out reconnaissance during combat operations against an irregular army, however. Nor is there a need for sabotage missions. Therefore, the special-purpose units are becoming a liability for the army and are mainly engaged in protecting generals, staffs, and top officials who make excursions to "where shooting is under way."

A similar situation with special-purpose units has come about at the Federal Counterintelligence Service [FCS]. Three months ago, a Special Operations Directorate [SOD] was set up there under Dmitriy Gerasimov, who formerly commanded none other than "Vympel." Now Gerasimov has two offices in the Lubyanka building, a

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deputy, and about 15 fighters. Even if rapid reaction units from the St. Petersburg and Moscow FCS Directorates were subordinated to the SOD, even then the assault unit's strength would not exceed two hundred men.

On New Year's eve, Lieutenant General Barsukov, chief of the Main Protection Directorate, visited the area of combat operations. They say that he made this trip at the president's personal request as well as delivering New Year greetings to the power ministers. Barsukov is in command of the most professionally trained special-purpose unit, the "Alfa" group. If one briefly analyzes operations carried out by its fighters last year, however, it will turn out that it was busy rescuing hostages, but did not seize installations or territories. The White House assault does not bear comparison either. After all, it was Russians who kept other Russians from shooting at them there. In addition, the key goal of an anti- terrorist unit—to save people from unreasonable death—was present there. According to information available to MOSKOVSKIY KOMSOMOLETS, taking into account possible terrorist attacks and hostage taking in Moscow, it was decided not to involve "Alfa" in the Chechen operation.

In addition to all the aforementioned Russian special subunits, there are a number of similar Internal Affairs Ministry detachments. The most famous of them is the "Vityaz" subunit. This subunit is known for its defense of the television center from Makashov's hitmen. It has not fulfilled any other missions, though. Still, on the surface "Vityaz" looks just as impressive as any Defense Ministry special-purpose unit.

Therefore, to all appearances, the Russian army will not rely on special-purpose units, which should fulfill special missions, for the next assault, but it will resort to assault tactics dating back to the Great Patriotic War. Soldiers will seize a defensive line, dig in, bring up weapons, and then seize another line. And so on until the last defensive line is taken. Otherwise unreasonable losses will be unavoidable.

Moscow Chechens Oppose Call for 'Holy War'

MM0501084995 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 5 Jan 95 First Edition p 2

[Report by Oleg Pravotorov: "Rejecting the Gazawat. Moscow Chechens Reject Dudayev's Calls For Acts of Terrorism and Blood Vengeance"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Some representatives of Moscow's Chechen diaspora were initially skeptical about the idea of talking about it. They believe many people already say all Chechens are bandits. After Dzhokhar Dudayev stated that he would be shifting hostilities from the outskirts of Groznyy to the Russian capital, the Moscow diaspora could find itself virtually the natural vanguard in the general's tactical plans.

The Moscow Chechen diaspora is by no means a uniform entity with a single will and mind. Current events in the Caucasus are meeting with different reactions in different circles. There is agreement about just one thing—the bloodshed must be stopped. That is easy to say, but how is it to be done? The diaspora does not wield any significant influence among the political elite. According to Ikhvan Gerikhanov, chairman of the Chechen Republic Constitutional Court, almost 80 percent of the Chechen intelligentsia—mainly professors and teachers—were forced to leave the republic because of friction with the current Groznyy regime. Even before hostilities began, the Chechen Constitutional Court—which is opposed to Dudayev—made a call for peace to its fellow-countrymen. But its voice was not heeded. Just as the Moscow diaspora's telegrams to Dzhokhar Dudayev asking him to give up the military confrontation and come to the negotiating table were subsequently to go unheeded.

Yet many Moscow Chechens enjoy great prestige among their own people. People such as People's Artist of the USSR Makhmud Esambayev, Meritorious Lawyer Zambek Khamzayev, Salman Khasimikov, four times world wrestling champion, mathematics professor Mukhadi Israilov, professor of philosophy Salman Vatsanayev, the actor and producer Musa Dudayev, and many others could to a considerable extent contain feelings among civilians.

Many of them are angry about President Dudayev's threats to resort to acts of terrorism in Moscow. His widely publicized statement has placed the Moscow Chechens under increased supervision by law-enforcement organs and, above all, annoys them because of its senseless cruelty.

"Blowing up the subway—what bloodthirsty stupidity!" Abuziyat Opayev said. "Public transport is used by totally innocent people. What do they have to do with events in Chechnya?

"Consequently," he continued, "we are trying to explain at rallies and meetings at the 'Daymokh' Cultural Center that not a single Chechen is entitled to or will carry out the crazy schemes of the Groznyy leaders. There have been too many deaths among our deceived fellow-countrymen who, having bought assault rifles with their own money, have tried to fight tanks and aircraft on behalf of politicians whose interests they do not understand."

One other important aspect of the "Daymokh" Center's propaganda work applies to the interpretation of the concept of "blood vengeance"—a concept that is not not understood by Russians and prompts fear among them because of its primordial cruelty. "You must understand," Abuziyat Opayev, said, "that the laws of blood vengeance extend solely to Chechens. And even then, the only people to pay with their blood should be the specific people guilty of a murder, by no means just anyone who has used force in a fight." Another frightening word

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which Groznyy uses is "gazawat" [holy war]—and Moscow Chechens reject it in this situation. Ikhvan Gerikhanov believes that it is even blasphemous for Groznyy to be using it now. Under the Koran, the chairman of the Chechen Republic Constitutional Court explains, a gazawat is a spiritual approach taken by Muslims when their faith is under threat. In his opinion there is no religious factor in this war.

Nonetheless, there is a particular group among the Chechen diaspora which respectable Caucasians are noticeably unwilling to talk about. We refer to the ever-present characters in crime reports—bandits, as their countrymen call them, or mafiosi, as journalists have dubbed them. Attempts to learn through the Moscow Regional Administration for Organized Crime the size of the capital's Chechen bandit groupings and their weight in the criminal world were unsuccessful. But we have learned from informed sources close to the militia that these criminal formations number several hundred men—armed men. Is the law-abiding section of the diaspora capable of restraining its sinning countrymen from acts of violence in Moscow?

In the opinion of the leadership of the diaspora, the criminals cannot be considered full members of the Chechen community. First, they violate one of the most revered precepts of the Koran, which calls theft the most serious of crimes. Second, through their activities they besmirch all Chechens living in Moscow and make the authorities inclined to treat innocent people as unreliable. According to Ikhvan Gerikhanov, these Chechens should be seen as splittists, but for some reason it is they who have become—thanks to the press—virtually the archetypal representatives of their people. As for acts of terrorism by Moscow bandit groupings, these are unlikely, since these people have an interest in preserving their forces for purposes more prosaic than protecting Dzhokhar Dudayev's ambitions. It is in their interests for the armed conflict to come to an end as quickly as possible.

Makhmud Esambayev—a man respected by the entire Chechen people, and not only by them—was more categorical (admittedly, without going into detail). As he put it, not a single Chechen in Moscow can now afford to violate even a traffic regulation—the diaspora is in complete control of the behavior of its countrymen and will not permit a single untoward act by them, however much they may be provoked.

It is hard to do anything but believe this emotional assurance from the famous artist. We know that his Moscow apartment was recently robbed by fellow Chechens. In the space of a few days the robbers were found without the militia's help and given exemplary punishments. Also by their own people—Chechens....

Whichever representative of the Moscow Chechen diaspora you talk to, you repeatedly hear rebukes—but by no means of the sort you would naturally expect. Those who will have to organize their lives in that war-torn land in the future are now out of work—and through no fault of their own. And today instead of actively participating in building political relations on a new and mutually acceptable basis, they are sometimes having to overcome bureaucratic brick walls. People are offended by this, and I think we can understand how they feel.

Russian Military Seen To 'Lose Control'

MK0501083895 Moscow SEGODNYA in Russian 5 Jan 95 p 1

[Report by Pavel Felgengauer in the "Apocalypse Now" column under general headline: "Russia on the Brink of a Catastrophe. The Russian Subdivisions Which Entered Groznyy Have Been Routed"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Two days ago the situation in Russia was critical: Superior staffs, by the admission of the military itself, "partially lost control of their troops" in Chechnya. A person who has anything to do with the army does not need to be explained what it means "to lose control." The country was on the verge of a full-scale military catastrophe. At any moment during the battle the Russian army could simply have stopped carrying out orders by the politicians and generals who had sent it into the Chechen meat grinder, and turned their bayonets against their own commanders. It cannot be ruled out that this is actually what is being sought by some political and para-political forces in Russia.

It is quite evident that the operation in Chechnya was ill-prepared. Much of the blame lies with Russian political "strategists" who embarked on a plan to oust Dudayev with the help of bought-and-paid-for oppositionists. And when the secret operation failed miserably, a totally unprepared army was thrown into battle at the most inappropriate time: winter. It is very strange that the military leadership, primarily Army General Grachev, as a representative of the military professionals, could not say "no" to politicians. Sending 18- to 19-year-old soldiers into battle without serious, months-long special training was undoubtedly a crime. [passage omitted]

Russian troops broke through the outside defense perimeter and seized the left bank section (along the Sunzhe river) of Groznyy. The Chechens wisely retreated. But when armor entered the downtown area, it was also in for a "surprise." As people at the Russian General Staff explained to SEGODNYA's correspondent: "We have little infantry. The Chechens let our convoys through and then closed the front behind their backs. Advance units were encircled." So far there is no official list of killed: Some could have been captured and survived. But in any event, on 1 and 2 January the losses were heavy. True, as the Defense Ministry maintains, fewer than 100 a day, but tens of people for sure.

Nonetheless the troops held their positions and did not retreat. On 3 January "troop control" was restored as well as coordination with aviation and heavy artillery in the rear area. The Chechens, according to the General

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Staff, are not getting fresh ammunition supplies and are weakening with every hour of the fighting. Staff commanders maintain that the southern exit from Groznyy is deliberately being held open. They hope that the rebels will leave for the mountainous areas of Chechnya which will become a trap for them.

Duma Leader on Chemical Weapon Use, Aid

LD0501140495 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1257 GMT 5 Jan 95

[By ITAR-TASS parliamentary correspondent Ivan Novikov]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Moscow January 5 TASS—The results of the examination of proofs of the use of chemical weapons in Chechnya by Dudayev's militants will become known in the days ahead. Valentin Kovalev, deputy speaker of the State Duma, who is chairman of the commission formed by the Russian president to monitor observance of constitutional rights and freedoms, said this to ITAR- TASS.

"Our military subcommittee verifies information about facts that Dudayev's units used in combat chlore [as received] compounds and hydrocyanic acid as toxic agents", he said.

Kovalev said work is underway to resolve transport problems that arose during the delivery of humanitarian aid to Chechnya. "We are pinpointing drawbacks and exerting effort to remedy the situation and try to establish who precisely is to blame for messing up the delivery of humanitarian aid", he said.

The commission is much concerned over reports about the situation regarding medical aid, Kovalev said. "There are disquieting reports that in a number of cases medics had to perform surgery without anaesthetics", he said.

The commission also investigates cases of marauding by illegal armed formations and cases when citizens were subjected to indignities and violence, the commission's chairman said.

Bombing Raids Halt Per Yeltsin Order

LD0501073295 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 0600 GMT 5 Jan 95

[FBIS Translated Text] After Boris Yeltsin's instruction to stop the bombing of facilities in Groznyy from 0000 hours on 5 January, no reports of bombardment of the Chechen capital have come in. Yeltsin's instruction to the military departments was issued in connection with the start of work to restore facilities, to normalize life in Groznyy.

At the same time, according to a report from a special information and analytical commission of the Russian Government headed by Sergey Shakhray, the implementation continues of the decision of the Russian Government on urgent measures to render aid to Chechnya. A plan has been worked out for restoring railway traffic through Chechnya, including putting guards on the facilities that have survived.

Moreover, according to a report from the press service of Russia on the situation in Groznyy and its environs over the last 24 hours, occasionally there were exchanges of fire between the armed fighters and the sub-units of Russian servicemen. The Chechen militia did not manage to oust the Russian troops from the railway station 1.5 km from the center of Groznyy. With the support of sub-units from Russia's Ministry of Defense, the internal forces troops are continuing to clear the town of the illegal armed groups. And the representatives of the interim administration are carrying out preparations for the transfer to Groznyy of the government of national revival of the Chechen republic.

Palace Receives Bombardment

LD0501143995 Moscow Radiostantsiya Ekho Moskvy in Russian 1400 GMT 5 Jan 95

[FBIS Translated Text] A Russian airplane bombed the presidential palace in Groznyy this afternoon, France-Presse reports. The sixth floor of the 11-story building is on fire. In addition, a group of deputies who began work in Nazran reports that Russian airplanes continued shelling Groznyy's Zavodskiy district, where the oil reservoir is located. Bitter fighting is taking place near the Borovskiy Bridge, about 500 meters from Dudayev's residence. Similar fighting is taking place in the Hippodrome region and around Chernorechiye.

Government Issues Statement on Chechen Propaganda

LD0401201695 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1843 GMT 4 Jan 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Moscow, 4 Jan (ITAR-TASS)—The press service of the Russian Government today circulated a report that says:

According to military intelligence, the propaganda system of former leaders of Groznyy seeks to diminish many times the number of casualties suffered by illegal armed formations. The deliberate concealment of the actual number of casualties shows that propaganda bodies use everything they can to keep up the morale of fighters by whipping up anti-Russian moods and creating an illusion of victories. There is information that field commanders instructed fighters and the population to kill any Russian serviceman using any means and irrespective of the fact whether he is wounded or not. Fighters who stayed behind in Groznyy were virtually turned into kamikaze fighters by Chechen leaders, the military intelligence statement says.

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Moreover, the Russian Government press service has received a report from Russia's military counterintelligence on the questioning of captured fighters. The questioning showed that the Chechen state security department sends its agents to subunits of the federal troops under the guise of supporters of the opposition, and they offer their assistance in the fight against illegal armed formations.

According to refugees arriving from Groznyy, fighters use large groups of local people as a cover for detachments leaving the town. If they refuse, they receive wounds that leave them barely able to move. Groznyy residents who had been subjected to such executions were admitted to mobile military hospitals with leg wounds.

According to military counterintelligence, Dudayev's personal envoys yesterday visited Georgia's Akhmedovskiy Rayon where Zviadists are active and agreed with them that the territory of the rayon will be used to hide Groznyy leaders.

Press Rights Seen Violated in Chechnya

LD0401123895 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1154 GMT 4 Jan 95

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Tamara Ivanova]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Moscow January 4 TASS—There have been 78 incidents involving journalists in the zone of the conflict in the Chechen Republic since December 1, according to the information of the fund for the protection of journalists. Two journalists—correspondent of the Russian KRASNAYA ZVEZDA Vladimir Zhitarenko and American Cynthia Elbaum—were killed in the recent days, and eight reporters were wounded, Oleg Panfilov, an expert of the fund, noted on Wednesday.

In addition, there were facts of fire being deliberately opened on journalists by units of interior troops and of the Defence Ministry. Photo and video films were forcibly taken from some journalists. A group of reporters of the British Broadcasting Corporation, BBC, was detained by Army units for 24 hours on January 1.

There is a large number of cases when journalists are denied information, Panfilov said. He noted with concern that the number of violations of journalists' rights in the area of the Chechen conflict is rapidly increasing.

Serviceman Accuses Paper of Pro-Chechnya Libel

MM0501112595 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 5 Jan 95 p 1

[Letter from A.V. Podgornyy: "'I Killed Six Chechens'"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Esteemed editorial office!

I, a senior lieutenant in the Russian Internal Troops, would like to share my impressions from the 15 December edition of your newspaper. Please excuse the handwriting—I have a slight wound, I have burns on my hands—but it's nothing, in two months I will be well and will return to my unit in Chechnya. But now I am in hospital in Russia. I have seen a lot, but I have never before seen the kind of thing I saw in Chechnya. Although for some reason your newspaper is writing 99 percent in favor of the Chechens, on the grounds that "innocent people are suffering." You have only written three lines about our soldiers—this many have died, this many have been wounded. And that is all.

You published a picture of a burning Zhiguli car with dead bodies inside. But do you know why the car is burning and why the people have been killed? This is what happened. Having shot at the convoy of our trucks, they calmly got in and moved on. The Chechen gunmen use these Zhigulis to travel about in. And you are trying to mock our servicemen.

Let me explain a simple thing to you: If you put a machine gun on a school roof, then the school is no longer a civilian establishment, and is subject to destruction. So the Chechen bandits are exploiting your libel... I believe that we will establish order, although you are not doing anything to help.

[signed] A.V. Podgornyy, who has personally killed six "civilian inhabitants" who were throwing grenades at our convoy, thus saving the lives of several Russian soldiers.

Soldier's Mother Sends Yeltsin Protest Telegram

MM0501112795 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 5 Jan 95 p 1

[Undated letter signed by Yelena Kholopova: "'I Am a Northerner, But I Am Prepared for a Blood Feud'"]

[FBIS Translated Text] My son was serving in Siberia. Today I do not know where he is. If he is Chechnya and something happens to him, I, a northerner, a fairly composed person, promise that I will start living according to the law of the blood feud. I have sent President Yeltsin a telegram. This is what it says:

"President Yeltsin, The Kremlin, Moscow.

Mr. President! Have you forgotten that, according to our Constitution, everyone has the right to live? The Chechen refugees killed by Russian soldiers had this right, and so did the Russian soldiers killed by Chechen bandits. You are to blame for the war. The day will come when you will no longer be president and then you risk ending up in prison for your orders to kill in Chechnya. It is possible that you will end up in the same cell as Dudayev, and that you two will finally learn to start talking to each other. I wish you this with all my heart in the New Year. On the 'holiday' that you organized for the whole country!"

[signed] Yelena Kholopova

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70 Ordzhonikidze Street, Syktyvkar, Komi Republic

Minister Discusses Chechen Refugees, Aid

LD0501115895 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1133 GMT 5 Jan 95

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Ruslan Maysigov]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Nazran January 5—Russian minister for emergencies who arrived in the Ingush capital Nazran on Thursday, and Ingush President Ruslan Aushev (Ingushetia is a member republic of the Russian Federation) discussed questions of accommodating Chechen refugees in the republic and rendering them aid.

"The main aim of my visit to Ingushetia is to render aid to Chechen civilians forced to leave places of their permanent residence temporarily," Shoygu said in an interview with ITAR-TASS after the meeting.

The sides discussed prospects for creating construction facilities for restoration work in the Chechen republic, he added.

Refugee Numbers Continue To Increase

LD0501121495 Moscow Radiostantsiya Ekho Moskvy in Russian 1100 GMT 5 Jan 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The flow of refugees from Chechnya is not yet abating. Sergey Solntsev, chairman the Russian Federal Migration Service, said over 130,000 people had left Chechnya since the start of the military action.

Faulty Transformer Causes Nuclear Unit Shutdown

MM0501103595 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 5 Jan 95 First Edition p 1

[Unattributed report: "Leningrad Nuclear Electric Power Station Unit Halted"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Yesterday morning at 0709 hours the No. 2 power unit at the Leningrad Nuclear Electric Power Station (LAES) was shut down by the automatic protection system. The reason for shutting it down was a single-phase short-circuit in an output-testing [izmeritelnyy] transformer at a substation off the station premises 1.5. km from its power units.

According to announcements from the LAES Information Service and the Federal Inspectorate for Nuclear and Radiation Safety North European District Press Service, "there was no violation of operational safety limits or conditions, and the radiation situation at the nuclear power station in the city of Sosnovyy Bor remained at the natural background level." Work is currently under way to bring the No. 2 power unit back into operation: In line with the regulations, it will be started up after 48 hours. The No. 3 and No. 4 power units are functioning at rated output level, sustaining 2,000 megawatts of demand. The No. 1 unit is undergoing scheduled major repairs. The event's rating on the international scale is negligible.

Komi Pipeline Delays Risk New Accidents

LD0301172495 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1601 GMT 3 Jan 95

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Viktor Makarov]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Usinsk, the Komi Republic, January 3 TASS—It was first planned to put into commission a new oil pipeline in the Komi Republic in December 1994. The pipeline was to replace the damaged one near Usinsk. The pipeline construction has not been finished, and it is expected to become operational either in spring or in summer.

The Usinsk oil pipeline had numerous flaws in August-September 1994, and the oil spilled onto an area of over 60 hectares. The pipeline had become worn-out and the danger of new accidents is increasing day by day.

The new pipeline with a length of 52 kilometers was to be built by December 1 and put into commission by December 20, under a decision of the Komi Commission for Emergency Situations. The conditions were not fulfilled although set by leaders of the Komineft and Komi Tek joint stock companies Andrey Yakimov and Valentin Leonidov themselves.

The main reason for this is the lack of money. The majority of construction works have been done on credit. The Komineft joint stock companies owes 12.5 billion rubles to construction organizations for one facility alone. All the appeals of Komineft and the Komi Government to various Russian state structures have been fruitless. The credit of the Russian Fuel and Energy Ministry has not been received, and numerous commissions which visited the accident area have not helped the financing of a new pipeline's construction and cleaning of the polluted areas.

The Komineft leaders have appealed to the Russian and Komi Governments with a request to allocate 50 billion rubles for finalizing the pipeline construction and cleaning the Usinsk region from oil-containing liquid.

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International Affairs

Official on 'Unsatisfactory Pace' of Nuclear Aid

LD0401212195 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1945 GMT 4 Jan 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Kharkov, Jan 4 (Interfax-Ukraine)—Western aid, promised to Ukraine under the condition of its acceding to the Non-Proliferation Treaty and starting to reform its economy, comes "at an extremely unsatisfactory pace," according to the chairman of the parliamentary commission for defense and security, Vladimir Mukhin.

"There are still no real investments," he told Interfax-Ukraine in Kharkov Wednesday.

Investments in the conversion of Ukraine's military industry under the Nunn-Lugar program worth $350 million are not "real money," because they are made in U.S. companies cooperating with Ukrainian partners.

"On the state level, Russia is the main investor in Ukraine's economy," Mukhin admitted, citing the continuing supplies of Russian fuel to the republic.

Cabinet Details 1994 Gas Debt

MM0401154595 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 5 Jan 95 p 1

[IMA-press report: "Ukraine's Gas Debt Has Reached $2.5 Billion"]

[FBIS Translated Text] As of the end of 1994 Ukraine's gas debts for natural gas delivered were $2.5 billion. Of this figure $1.5 billion is to Russia and $1 billion to Turkmenistan. These figures were made public by the Ukrainian cabinet of ministers.

Ministry Cannot Confirm Execution of Volunteers

LD0401191595 Kiev Radio Ukraine World Service in Ukrainian 1700 GMT 4 Jan 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Amid public calls for the Ukrainian Foreign Ministry to either confirm or deny claims by the Russian Federation's mass media of the arrest and execution by Dudayev's counterintelligence of a large group of Ukrainian volunteers in Chechnya, the Ukrainian Foreign Ministry's press center has announced that the ministry has no official confirmation of these facts cited by Russia's mass media on 3 January.

Asked by the ministry's press center to comment on these claims, the Ukrainian National Assembly described the reports on reprisals against Ukrainian citizens by Dudayev's counterintelligence as another item of misinformation, while the headquarters of the Congress of Ukrainian Nationalists replied that there were only two Ukrainian citizens in Groznyy, whose aim was to render humanitarian assistance to the Chechen republic's population.

Deputy Denies Ukrainian Involvement

LD0401192095 Kiev Radio Ukraine World Service in Ukrainian 1700 GMT 4 Jan 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The following report contains another denial of this new allegation by the Russian mass media: No Ukrainian citizen is taking part in combat operations in Chechnya, Volodymyr Mukhin, chairman of the Ukrainian Supreme Council's defense and state security committee, has told journalists. He said he was ready officially to confirm his statement, which, according to him, was based on the results of an investigation that had been carried out in line with parliamentary protocol instructions to Ukraine's security service.

Moroz, Cuban Envoy Discuss Trade, Economics

LD0401161595 Kiev UNIAR in Ukrainian 1335 GMT 4 Jan 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Kiev, 4 Jan—"Cuba is interested in cooperating with Ukraine in various sectors and is ready to develop them," Sergio Lopez Briel, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of Cuba to Ukraine, stressed during a meeting with Ukrainian Supreme Council Chairman Oleksandr Moroz. During the conversation, the Cuban diplomat informed Mr. Moroz about the current political and economic situation in Cuba. In his words, as a result of the economic blockade, Cuba is experiencing extremely difficult times today. Including Ukraine, 101 countries supported the draft UN resolution by Cuba on lifting the U.S. blockade. Two countries, the United States and Israel, were "against" this decision.

The blockade has had a very negative effect on the economic development of the country to this day. Nevertheless, the Cuban ambassador mentioned the stabilization of output that has been observed lately, and Mr. Briel stressed that one could talk about certain successes with regard to the export of citrus fruits, nickel production, and the development of the tourist industry.

The Supreme Council chairman, in particular, noted that our country was suffering a sort of blockade—for example, concerning the terms of trade, the use of anti-dumping laws, and losses from observing the UN sanctions against Yugoslavia. Moroz stressed that, despite all the difficulties of the present period, our countries should cooperate more actively and primarily in those sectors where the share of the state sector in the economy is large, such as in the sugar industry, for example.

Briel extended an invitation to Moroz from the chairman of the Cuban parliament for him to pay an official visit to the Republic of Cuba.

National Affairs

Kuchma Reorganizes Broadcasting Committee

LD0401205795 Kiev Radio Ukraine World Service in Ukrainian 1900 GMT 4 Jan 95

[FBIS Translated Text] President Leonid Kuchma has issued an edict setting up the State Committee for

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Television and Radio [Derzhteleradio]. The reorganization is aimed at improving the management of national broadcasting. The committee's main objective is to implement state information policy and form the national broadcasting network.

The current National Broadcasting Company is being disbanded. The Cabinet of Ministers has been instructed to reorganize it within two months into national television and radio companies, the state broadcasting company Krym [of Crimea], regional state broadcasting companies of Kiev and Sevastopol, and oblast broadcasting companies. Zynoviy Kulyk has been appointed chairman of Derzhteleradio.

Issues Cossack Support Decree

LD0501101695 Kiev UNIAR in Ukrainian 0825 GMT 5 Jan 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Kiev, 4 Jan—Taking into account the historic role of the Cossacks in establishing Ukrainian statehood and with the aim of reviving the traditions and customs of Ukrainian Cossackdom, the president of Ukraine [Leonid Kuchma] has issued a decree which seeks to approve public initiatives on state support for the further development and activity of Ukrainian Cossack organizations.

Ukraine's ministries and other central bodies of executive power, the government of the autonomous Republic of Crimea, and heads of oblast councils, including Kiev and Sevastopol town councils, have been instructed to promote the development of Ukrainian Cossackdom.

It has been recommended that the Ministry of Culture and the Ministry of Young People, Sports, and Tourism should implement measures on holding Cossack festivals and contests.

Moroz on Economic Situation, Masol 'Resignation'

LD0401154895 Kiev UNIAN in Ukrainian 1415 GMT 4 Jan 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Kiev [no date as received]—The resignation of Prime Minister Vitaliy Masol is not a step which will resolve Ukraine's economic problems and improve the economic situation, Oleksandr Moroz, chairman of Ukraine's Supreme Council, said while commenting on rumors about the possibility of such a resignation.

He described the scheme to improve the material situation of the poor as acceptable. The scheme was proposed by Vitaliy Masol's government, and envisages the introduction of food certificates for such a category of people.

Oleksandr Moroz said that a list of draft laws "under a single reform strategy" agreed by the presidential administration and the secretariat of Ukraine's Supreme Council, which the parliament will consider at its third session, will be published in the press on 5 January. Oleksandr Moroz gave a positive assessment of the formation, under the president, of an economic council to be chaired by First Deputy Prime Minister Viktor Pynzenyk. He noted that the government "is short of structures that could prepare draft laws on economic reforms." Oleksandr Moroz said that "parliament will know who to deal with."

Crimean Council on Parliament, Kuchma

954F0748C Simferopol KRYMSKIYE IZVESTIYA in Russian 24 Dec 94 p 1

[Interview with Yuriy Podkopayev, chairman of the Standing Commission on Education, Science, Culture, Youth Affairs, and Sports of the Crimean Supreme Council, by N. Gavrileva; place and date not given: "Crisis Passed?"]

[FBIS Translated Text] **We invited Yuriy Podkopayev, chairman of the Standing Commission on Education, Science, Culture, Youth Affairs, and Sports of the Crimean Supreme Council, to sum up the results of the week in the Supreme Council.**

[Podkopayev] Perhaps it is too early to say, but, judging from how deputies started working as the week neared its end, I would dare to say that the parliamentary crisis, if it has not passed, has at least progressed past the boiling point. Everyone recognizes that we cannot solve the problem in one fell swoop, that rotation of the Presidium is not possible in a single instant but must rather be done, as S. Tsekov expressed it—"in a natural way." Despite the fact that the crisis has not been overcome, tension has abated somewhat, giving the Supreme Council the opportunity to deal with its immediate obligations. I believe the internal squabbles have to be worked out during nonlawmaking time. I am happy to see that a number of factions this week, including Russia—Unity, have recognized this fact and have gotten down to work.

[Gavrileva] Could we say that the deputies are sensing some guilt, some indebtedness to the voters, by virtue of their consenting to work Friday and their quite decent attendance as compared to previous days—67 people?

[Podkopayev] Most likely this is so. If we look back, for a long time we have not managed to busy ourselves with the economy or with the education issues our commission handles. The parliament worked half a year under the banner of struggle—first we fought with Kiev, then with the president, then with the government, and finally—with ourselves...

[Gavrileva] Whom did the Commission on Education have to fight?

[Podkopayev] The fact of the matter is that the excessively politicized agenda did not permit us to fulfill our immediate obligations. Of course we were able to draw up and adopt a few resolutions on improving support for people working in education, the ethnography museum,

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etc. Today we are energetically preparing to celebrate the 50th anniversary of the Yalta Conference... But alas—the lion's share of our time is eaten up by political questions.

[Gavrileva] And you must examine these?

[Podkopayev] It is impossible to separate economics from politics. There are no "purely economic" issues. There are political questions aside from which it is impossible to resolve economic ones—the bank issue, for example. Kiev issues a directive that in actuality destroys our striving to create our own banking system. Until a political resolution is reached, there will be no business. But despite all the interrelationship aspects, economics must still dominate.

[Gavrileva] One would like to believe that this week was a turning point in the parliamentary crisis. Are we yet able to define what was the cause of this "mutiny"?

[Podkopayev] I think we had here a gradual accumulation of negative emotions and incidents that finally reached the boiling point. The enemies we look for so persistently have always been outside the walls of the Supreme Council. But here we found them inside. One gets the impression, however—and many journalists have noticed this, incidentally—that the conflict was inspired by someone outside, deliberately, so that the parliament would not be able to function productively.

[Gavrileva] This is actually the final week of parliamentary work. What kind of year was it for the Supreme Council? What prospects do you see for its future work?

[Podkopayev] It was a complicated year. But the parliament was able to move through its period of maturity and gain experience very quickly. If in May we had the experience we have today, we would have succeeded in avoiding many collisions. On the plus side, I would include resolution of the issue of a government capable of functioning effectively and the establishment of definite economic ties with Russia. On the minus side—exacerbation of relations with Kiev, with the Ukrainian Supreme Council...

[Gavrileva] Despite the election of L. Kuchma?

[Podkopayev] Yes—though it is the Crimeans who provided him the necessary advantage. But, show me a politician who fulfills his election campaign promises!

All the same we managed to maintain our level of contacts with Ukraine, even though our very autonomy is now greatly threatened. Naturally the minuses would include our internal problems—the irresponsibility of certain deputies who put their personal interests, or narrow party and factional interests, ahead of the interests of their job performance.

I believe that next year, given a government able to function, given a desire on the part of the presidential structure to work together with the parliament, the prospects for Crimea are fairly decent. It seems to me that our little republic has a much better chance of moving farther and faster along the path of improving people's lives than does Ukraine on the whole.

Ratifies Anticrime Measure

954F0748D Simferopol KRYMSKIYE IZVESTIYA in Russian 24 Dec 94 p 1

["Decree of the Crimean Supreme Council: On Confirmation of the Plan on Measures To Fight Crime in the Crimean Republic Over the Period 1994-96"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The Crimean Supreme Council **decrees:**

1. To ratify the Plan on Measures To Fight Crime in the Crimean Republic Over the Period 1994-96.

2. That the Crimean Government shall finance and provide material-technical support for the measures to fight crime in the Crimean Republic over the period 1994-96.

3. To entrust the responsibility for monitoring execution of the Plan on Measures To Fight Crime in the Crimean Republic Over the Period 1994-96 to the following standing commissions of the Crimean Supreme Council: Commission on Military Issues, Commission on Security and Protection of the Rights of Servicemen, Commission on State Structuring, Legislation, Legality, and Law and Order.

4. To entrust responsibility for monitoring the allocation and expenditure of budgetary-financial assets provided in support of the measures to fight crime to the Standing Commission of the Crimean Supreme Council for Economic, Budget, and Finance Policy.

[signed] Chairman of the Crimean Supreme Council S. Tsekov

[dated] City of Simferopol, 8 December 1994

No. 286-1

Calls To 'Denounce' Belovezh Agreement

954F0756A Simferopol KRYMSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 27 Dec 94 p 1

["Declaration 'On the Denouncement of the Belovezh Agreement' by the Supreme Council of Crimea"]

[FBIS Translated Text] In December 1991, the highest state officials of Russia, Ukraine, and Belarus signed the Belovezh Agreement, which broke up the unified multinational state of our great motherland.

As a result of the collapse of the USSR, not one nation began to live better. The newly organized states and even many families were separated by borders and customs barriers, and economic relations were interrupted. The national economy in the entire geopolitical space of the Commonwealth of Independent States is in a state of

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crisis that has thrown a majority of the people into the pale of poverty. The once powerful Armed Forces have been dispersed to national billets. The worsening of interethnic contradictions has led to the emergence of military conflicts in many regions.

At the time of the signing of the agreement, the leaders of Russia, Ukraine, and Belarus did not have a mandate for this from the people. What is more, the decision was made contrary to the opinion of these people, which was unambiguously expressed in an All-Union referendum on 17 March 1991. It even contradicts the results of the All-Crimean referendum of 20 January 1991, in the course of which an absolute majority of Crimeans expressed themselves for the restoration of the republic as a component of a Union treaty.

Considering the catastrophic consequences of the ruin of a unified country and based on the will of the people as expressed in the All-Union referendum of 17 March 1991 and the All-Crimean referendum of 20 January 1991 and taking into account the urgent economic and political necessity of a very close integration of the countries of the Commonwealth, the Supreme Council of Crimea appeals to the higher organs of legislative authority of Ukraine, Belarus, and Russia to denounce the Belovezh Agreement and to initiate work on the creation of a mutually acceptable form of uniting the republics in an economic, political, and military union, right up to the restoration of unified statehood.

[signed] Supreme Soviet of Crimea.

Official on Deported Crimean Commission

954F0748A Simferopol KRYMSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 24 Dec 94 p 1

[Article by O. Volodin: "Better To See Once..."]

[FBIS Translated Text] **This is the conclusion of members of a government commission visiting unauthorized construction sites on the outskirts of Simferopol.**

The press conference held yesterday at the Crimean Supreme Council was devoted to the work results of a commission established by the Ukrainian Government to resolve problems concerning the deported peoples of Crimea. In the words of I.F. Kuras, deputy prime minister of the Ukrainian Government, before the government delegation's trip to Crimea, President L.D. Kuchma personally asked him to visit the sites, so as to obtain reliable information firsthand.

The high-ranking guests from Kiev (the delegation included representatives from the Ministries of Economics, Finance, and Nationalities Affairs) saw quite an unattractive picture of settlements without heat, light, or water. And so, there were things to be discussed at the representative conference conducted on 22 December in Simferopol. A determination was made of the means and sources of financing for measures related to the return and accommodation of deported citizens in 1995. Also discussed was a mechanism for protecting their rights during the privatization that has begun.

As a result of the conference, a draft joint protocol was drawn up, which will be finalized when proposals are taken under consideration. There were quite a few such proposals, including from national-cultural societies of Crimea.

Ukraine continues to be the only republic of the former Union that is financing the return to Crimea and accommodation of deported citizens. The statement President Yu.A. Meshkov made in the spring on the allocation for this purpose of R50 billion from Russia's budget was categorized by the Russian ambassador to Ukraine as not conforming to reality. On the other hand, the Fund for Assistance to the Deported Peoples of Crimea was created under the aegis of the United Nations. Fund participants have already made a primary contribution of $1,200,000. In particular, Turkey has promised to construct 1,000 apartments.

As I.F. Kuras noted, the 13-month break in the work of the commission is a disgrace. From now on the commission will function smoothly and convene once every quarter. The next session is scheduled to meet in Kiev.

The commission will be enlarged through the admission of Crimean members, including four representatives of the Mejlis [Parliament] of the Crimean Tatar people.

Poll Shows Most Crimeans Encounter No Hostility

954F0748B Simferopol KRYMSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 24 Dec 94 p 1

[Report by the Krymsotsis Sociology Service: "Crimeans, Power, Politics"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The question: Have you had occasion this year to encounter manifestations of ethnic hostility?

"No, I have not"—68.38 percent.

"I have had occasion to witness such instances"—19.64 percent.

"I have had occasion to be a participant in such events"—8.76 percent.

No response—3.22 percent.

During the course of the survey, conducted jointly with the Center for Regional Development in five cities and five rural areas of Crimea, 993 individuals were polled. This selective sampling reflects the main parameters of the Crimean population by sex, age, education, native language, and type of settlement.

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Belarus

'AWACS-Type' Planes Deploy to Chechnya

WS0501112995 Minsk SVABODA in Belarusian 27 Dec 94 p 1

[Report by "A.S.": "From Vitsebsk to Chechnya"]

[FBIS Translated Text] **AWACS-type surveillance airplanes, based at Vitsebsk's "Zhurzhava" military airfield, are participating in combat actions conducted by the Russian Army in Chechnya.**

A SVABODA correspondent has learned from well-informed sources that those flying giants stuffed with electronic equipment took off and headed southeast as early as on the second day of the events in Chechnya. Russian AWACS's, which are named "Izdeliye-50," conducted surveillance flights near the Chechen Republic's border to locate Dudayev's military facilities.

Currently, out of four AWACS's, which for a long time were deployed in Vitsebsk, only one remains at the airfield. The Russian Air Force regiment, under the command of Lieutenant Colonel Anatoliy Babayev, feels at home at the Belarusian Defense Ministry's base. The Russians do not report to the airbase commander Alyaksandr Syarov, and receive fuel and payments from Moscow. Nobody controls AWACS flights across our eastern border.

Official 'Deplores' Recent Chechnya Events

LD0401160495 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1459 GMT 4 Jan 95

[From the "Diplomatic Panorama" feature: reports by diplomatic correspondents Aleksandr Korzun, Igor Porshnev, Yevgeniy Terekhov, and others]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MINSK, Jan 4 (Interfax)—Belarus's Deputy Foreign Minister Piotr Beliayev has said that to despatch peace-keeping forces to Chechnya is inexpedient.

"To deploy foreign peace-keeping forces in Chechnya is ill- advised, since it would mean to involve one more side in the conflict," he told Interfax in Minsk on Wednesday.

"Russia is strong enough to establish order in its territory on its own," Beliayev pointed out.

He deplored the sharp aggravation of tensions in Chechnya that took place in the past few days. Nevertheless he stressed that "Minsk has no grounds for reacting to the changes in the military situation in Chechnya."

"Belarus does not view the military confrontation in Chechnya as something outside the framework of Russia's internal affairs. The Belarusian government's attitude to this issue remains unchanged," Beliayev concluded.

Minsk, EU Sign Economic Accord, Details Noted

WS0501120095 Minsk BELAPAN in English 1800 GMT 4 Jan 95

[Article attributed to BELAPAN: "The Agreement on Partnership and Cooperation Between Belarus and the European Union"—from the "Analysis, Commentaries, Forecasts" feature No. 12 27 Dec-3 Jan]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] On 20-22 December, 1994, in Brussels, the third and final round of talks was held between Belarus and the European Union [EU] concerning the Agreement on Partnership and Cooperation between the Belarusian Republic and the European Union, as well as its Member States. In the course of the talks, the text of the agreement was definitively approved. After that, the agreement was initialed. The document was signed by Valeryy Tsepkala, Belarusian deputy foreign minister, and Fokian Fatiadis, chief of the EU department for the development of relations with CIS countries.

The agreement laid out general principles and detailed provisions designed to regulate relations between Belarus and the EU member states throughout the next ten years.

Talks on the agreement were carried out in two official rounds since 1992. The document contains more than 100 articles, about 10 appendixes, a protocol, as well as a great number of declarations and exchanged letters.

By concluding the Agreement on Partnership and Cooperation with the European Union, Belarus has virtually established effective and mutually beneficial trade and economic relations with the twelve, or rather fifteen economically developed democratic states of the European continent, given the fact that in 1995, Austria, Finland, and Switzerland are going to join the EU. This is a tangible break- through in the geopolitical position of the country, which will allow for the full-blooded participation of Belarus in the process of the European integration.

The main aims of the Agreement on Partnership and Cooperation are as follows:

1. Intensification of political, trade, and cultural relations between the Belarusian Republic and the European Union;

2. Development of close political links through establishing a regular dialogue on political matters;

3. Facilitation of economic development by expanding trade links and improving conditions for investment;

4. Transition of trade relations between the Contracting Parties to a non-discriminative basis;

5. Sustaining reforms in Belarus and strengthening the political and economic freedom;

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6. Creating conditions for gradual integration of Belarus into the European economic space;

7. Creating conditions for the future establishment of a free trade zone between the Belarusian Republic and the European Union.

According to the agreement, the European Union and the Belarusian Republic will be mutually granted most-favored-nation status for trade in goods and services (in accordance with Article I of GATT).

The European Union will abolish all quantitative limits on imports from Belarus. However, as the Belarusian economy is undergoing structural reconstruction, during the transition period, Belarus may have to introduce certain restrictions on import from the European Union under the following conditions:

1. If a corresponding sector is undergoing structural reconstruction;

2. If social problems arise in the sector.

According to the agreement, Belarus will be able to introduce similar restrictions on a non-discrimination basis only with respect to a particular part of general import from the European Union.

The agreement provides for the possibility of introducing measures intended to protect the domestic market from imports of subsidized or dumping products. In any case, the Parties will jointly assume the responsibility to seek a constructive solution of problems concerning the introduction of anti-dumping duties.

The agreement provides for important steps aimed at liberalization of capital circulation between Belarus and the European Union.

Direct investments from citizens and companies of the European Union will be accepted without limit, and similarly the return of these investments and income related to them will also be allowed.

The same principle will be applied to investments from Belarusian citizens and companies in the European Union.

With the aim of aiding the process of the joining of Belarus to the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT)/the World Trade Organization (WTO), the agreement envisages the use of certain regulations of GATT/WTO which Belarus and the European Union will observe in their trade relations until Belarus joins the multilateral trade organizations.

In particular, the sides agreed to refrain from discrimination of imported goods by introducing internal taxes or other payments, which will not apply to domestically produced goods. Moreover, imported goods must be placed on an equal status with domestic products in what concerns the norms and regulations of their sale, transportation, distribution and exploitation on the domestic market. The unrestricted transit of goods will also be guaranteed.

The agreement's clauses pertaining to trade will encompass all goods except for textiles and steel-ware. Trade in these goods will be regulated by special agreements.

The agreement also provides for relevant protective measures exclusively in the situations where import grows so much and under such conditions that it may be seriously detrimental to national producers.

As Belarus will in general be free to raise its customs duties until its admission to GATT/WTO, it was pointed out in the agreement that a preliminary consultation should be arranged to discuss any proposed raising of duties.

The level of the tariff protection of the European Union with respect to import from Belarus will be quite low. In addition, since January 1, 1993, Belarus will enjoy the advantages of the EU general preferential system.

The agreement sets out the aim of encouraging investments, and states that European companies should be established in conditions no less favorable than those for Belarusian companies or companies of a third country. The system for their activity should be no less favorable than that of Belarusian or foreign companies. This also applies to Belarusian companies established in the European Union.

In addition, the sides will note that it is imperative to aid internal and foreign investment in Belarus as in countries of the European Union by improving protection systems for investors and conditions for the circulation of capital and the exchange of information about the investment potential.

As for the financial sector, the document indicated that Belarusian banks can establish their branches in the European Union. In a similar way, but with some exceptions, Belarus will be open to European banks.

In the document a wide range of economic spheres for cooperation is outlined, including industry, customs matters, the suppression of unlawful activity, education and instruction, science and technology, and telecommunications.

The agreement also envisages the development of cooperation in other important fields, such as agriculture, construction, power and nuclear power engineering, environmental protection, financial services, the stimulation and protection of investments, raw material industry, state purchases, religion, small and medium enterprise, the social sphere, the standards and protection of consumer rights, statistics, tourism, and transportation.

The agreement under review will be effective for an initial period of 10 years, with the subsequent yearly

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prolongation, and will come into force only after its ratification by the parliaments of the EU member states, the European Parliament, and the Belarusian Supreme Soviet.

Nevertheless, to speed up the implementation of some important clauses of the agreement, Belarus and the European Commission will conduct negotiations on an interim agreement which will mainly cover the articles in the agreement concerning partnership and cooperation in the field of trade, and other points which are in the sphere of competence of the European Union.

Although at the initial stage, the Agreement on Partnership and Cooperation will remain the agreement of an unpreferential character, the Parties intend to renew talks in 1998, to analyze the course of reforms in Belarus and decide whether its progress will allow for the initiation of talks concerning the creation of a free trade zone.

Kokaraw on Economic Ties With Uzbekistan

WS0501120895 Minsk BELAPAN in English 1800 GMT 4 Jan 95

[Interview with Belarusian Deputy Prime Minister Valeryy Kokaraw by unidentified reporter; place and date not given: "It Is Not Yet Growth, But Deceleration of Decline"—from the "Analysis, Commentaries, Forecasts" feature No. 12 27 Dec-3 Jan]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Regrettable as this fact is, many agreements signed within the CIS framework are not working, and have remained mostly "protocols of intention." Therefore, life has forced the states, created on the post-Soviet territory, to search for other methods of interaction, renewal, and filling with a new content the economic links that left over from the Soviet Union. One of the examples of such a cooperation being shaped is the recent negotiations held by a Belarusian government delegation headed by President Alyaksandr Lukashenka with Uzbekistan and crowned with the signing of 18 joint documents, about which BELAPAN has already informed. Most of its sections were signed by Belarusian Deputy Prime Minister Valeryy Kokaraw, who gave an interview to a BELAPAN correspondent.

[Kokaraw] In Tashkent, we signed a whole package of agreements which encompass practically all spheres of activity. As far as I know, there has never been such a comprehensive approach to our mutual relations. Usually, some sort of private question was pulled out, and then, as a rule, solutions were doomed. And they were doomed as any problem must be examined thoroughly. Which is what happened at the meeting with Uzbekistan, where not only cotton was discussed, but also, the delivery of the BELAZ trucks in exchange for copper, machine-building products, and consumer goods. Also [discussed were] the reduction of customs duties, the avoidance of double taxation, and other problems, whose solution will simplify cooperation and make it mutually beneficial.

It is also significant that we found an adequate model for agreeing upon cotton purchase prices and sales of engines, in mutual concessions.

[Reporter] What other steps will the government undertake to make sure that these agreements do not repeat the fate of other documents still remaining on paper?

[Kokaraw] Now, it is essential to work out a mechanism ensuring the fulfillment of our plans. Such a mechanism must include first of all measures aimed at a more effective use of financial resources. We have the clearing system for exporting oil from Russia, you know, but the system's effectiveness is reduced by the inflation processes which are underway in our domestic market.

Why did we choose clearing? First of all, because our currencies are not mutually convertible and prices on Belarusian products and cotton were fixed at their [U.S.] dollar equivalent. Apart from that non-payments in the Republic may have a negative effect, and clearing levels out the imbalance, even making use of it. [sentence as received] In clearing, there are no money transfers, only goods, at prices which both sides have agreed upon.

[Reporter] If the model of cooperation with Uzbekistan works, will that mean that we can set up similar relationships with other states?

[Kokaraw] Exactly. At present, our experts are working on a whole package of interstate agreements with Russia, which cover a wide range of economic and other issues. Today, we have not only the clearing system for oil exports from Russia, but also a great deal of transactions based on a barter system as well. In essence, this is the same as clearing, but between managing organizations themselves. As I have already said, it is beneficial that money is not sent from one state to another, because this is a very long and lengthy process; instead, goods are exchanged for goods in their own way.

[Reporter] Mr. Kokaraw, is there any reason for optimism in the current state of our economy?

[Kokaraw] Yes. Today, certain positive tendencies are appearing. True, it is not yet a progress, but only deceleration in the pace of decline. And if we live successfully through the winter, when large resources will inevitably be distracted into paying for energy supplies, then in spring, the industry should stabilize to a certain extent.

[Reporter] Is this clearly linked with the fact that things changed somewhat at the enterprises that were formerly associated with defense-oriented production?

[Kokaraw] Yes, this primarily concerns the military-industrial complex, now undergoing conversion, but also other areas, such as machine construction, chemicals, and so on. As for the winter, it is difficult to make any predictions as very much depends on the weather and the delivery of energy supplies. But the fact that our industries are covering 100 percent of the costs of the current oil and gas deliveries gives a reason to hope for better.

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[Reporter] In Tashkent, our president often emphasized: "We can learn a lot from Uzbekistan," having in mind the strategy of reforms in the economy. Yet, we are very different countries. Uzbekistan is in the first place an agrarian country, and besides that, it is rich in natural resources—oil, gas, uranium, gold, copper, etc. Moreover, cotton ensures a steady stream of incoming currency. This means that they have definite supplies of strength for a slow but steady transition to the market. In Belarus, however, it is an entirely different situation...

We must examine each problem taking into account the interests of the two states. To produce cotton, Uzbekistan needs tractors, and for these tractors they use our engines. If they want to extract non-ferrous metals, then our BELAZ trucks are needed in the open- cast mines to transport ore for processing, and so on. We must find mutual interest in each area.

As for economic reforms in general, each state should follow its own road, using the available industrial, material, intellectual, and other potential. Another thing is that we are not living in an isolated space and we must take this into account. That is why if there is something useful in approaches to carrying out economic reforms in Uzbekistan, for example, we should use it for the welfare of our Republic. Then reforms under the slogan of the socially orientated market are not a novelty in Europe and are already successfully being carried out—in Germany, for example. Methods of shock therapy must not be used in all branches of society as a whole; where there is potential, then it is possible, but in some areas, reforms must be carried out smoothly, keeping check on the results. A universal formula, you must agree, does not exist.

Moldova

Poll Shows Support for Leaders in Decline

LD0401194495 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1546 GMT 4 Jan 95

[From the "Presidential Bulletin" feature: compiled by Nikolay Zherebtsov and Andrey Petrovskiy; edited by Vladimir Shishlin]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] The popularity of Moldova's political leaders has been steadily falling. This is the finding of a sociological service which had 1323 men and women fill a questionnaire throughout Moldova except Transdniester at the end of 1994.

The rating of President Mircea Snegur was found to fall to 2.39 points in a four point system at the end of 1994 compared to 2.64 at the end of 1993, of parliament Chairman Petru Lucinschi to 2.26 (2.71) and of Prime Minister Andrei Sangheli to 2.02 (2.39).

T. Dani, director of the Opinion service, told Interfax that 5.3 percent of those polled were completely satisfied with the activities of the president, 29.3 percent were satisfied, 30.9 percent were dissatisfied and 14.5 percent utterly dissatisfied.

The parliament chairman's activities completely satisfied 3.5 percent, satisfied 26.7 percent, dissatisfied 29 percent and utterly dissatisfied 14.4 percent.

As few as 1.4 percent were completely satisfied with the activities of the prime minister, satisfied 20 percent, dissatisfied 31.1 percent and utterly dissatisfied 21 percent. The remainder were undecided.

Meanwhile, Lucinschi believes that parliament, elected in February 1994, does its job well. He emphasized in an exclusive Interfax interview that the new parliament had adopted a new Constitution and legislation on the legal status of Gagauz-populated areas, which resolved this problem for good, and numerous other acts.

Lucinschi felt that the main achievement of parliament was developing a strategy and work on creating a legal framework for a democratic law abiding state.

Another major achievement was, in his view, the end of confrontation between the legislative, executive and presidential authorities. Lucinschi said that all the branches worked in a business-like manner for the goal of overcoming the economic and socio-political crisis.

In his view, the legislation passed by parliament was not fully implemented.

Lucinschi said that the setting up of a legal framework for market reforms was a major field of activity for parliament in 1995.

Chisinau Urges Peace in Chechnya

LD0501111795 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1044 GMT 5 Jan 95

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Valeriy Demidetskiy]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Kishinev [Chisinau] January 5 TASS—"There is no doubt that the conflict in Chechnya is Russia's domestic affair, and no other country should interfere in it. At the same time, we believe that the Chechen problem cannot be finally settled by military means," Nikolae Osmonescu, first deputy foreign minister of Moldavia [Moldova], told ITAR-TASS today.

He mentioned the grim experience of the Dniester armed conflict, which was stopped with the help of CSCE and Russia, and talks were started between the central authorities and separatists. "It is a difficult way that takes courage, but it is the only correct way," Osmonescu said.

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Kazakhstan

Parliament Criticizes Budget Performance

LD0401174295 Almaty SOVETY KAZAKHSTANA in Russian 28 Dec 94 p 1

[FBIS Translated Text] Resolution by the Supreme Council of the Republic of Kazakhstan on the progress made in nine months of 1994 in fulfilling the Law of the Republic of Kazakhstan on the Adjusted Republican Budget of the Republic of Kazakhstan for 1994:

1. Fulfillment of the Law of the Republic of Kazakhstan on the Adjusted Republican Budget of the Republic of Kazakhstan by the Cabinet of Ministers is deemed extremely unsatisfactory.

2. The Kazakh Cabinet of Ministers is instructed:

—to ensure back-payment of arrears in salaries, grants, benefits, and pensions that have arisen in 1994 out of the republican budget by 30 December 1994;

—to submit information on the balance of payments, reflecting the domestic and external debt of the Republic of Kazakhstan, for 1993 and 1994, as well as a draft balance of payments for 1995;

—to take measures to eliminate the shortcomings noted by deputies at the session of the Kazakh Supreme Council during debates on the progress made in fulfilling the Law of the Republic of Kazakhstan on the Adjusted Republican Budget of the Republic of Kazakhstan for 1994 over nine months of 1994;

—to submit a draft law of the Republic of Kazakhstan on the republican budget for 1995 by 25 December of the current year.

3. The National Bank is to ensure that cash is issued to pay salaries, pensions, and grants on time by 30 December 1994.

4. A special commission of deputies is to be set up to check on the fulfillment of the laws on the republican budgets for 1992, 1993, and 1994; on other laws relating to budget fulfilment; and on the offsetting of mutual debts owed by enterprises and organizations within the republic in 1993 and 1994.

The members of the commission are to be as follows:

Toleukul Abylkanov;

Dauren Zekenovich Adilbekov;

Kuanysh Makhmutovich Alpysbekov;

Boris Andreyevich Vishnevetskiy;

Ibragim Guler;

Berik Sagidullayevich Dzhubandykov;

Ludmila Arkadyevna Zhulanova;

Iskak Naushinovich Isergepov;

Boris Mikhaylovich Marinushkin;

Vitaliy Yegorovich Roze;

Yerik Khamzinovich Sultanov;

Adilkhan Abrakhmanovich Umerbayev;

Fedor Petrovich Shiryayev.

5. The report by the supervisory chamber of the Kazakh Supreme Council on the use of the Economic Transformations Fund is to be taken into consideration and published in the press.

The results of the inspection are to be sent to the Kazakh Prosecutor General for consideration.

[signed] Abish Kekilbayev, chairman of the Kazakh Supreme Council

[dated] Almaty, Parliament House, 15 December 1994, No.257-XIII

Parliament Passes Draft Law on Foreign Investments

LD0401174395 Almaty SOVETY KAZAKHSTANA in Russian 28 Dec 94 p1

[FBIS Translated Text] At yesterday's morning session [27 December] parliament passed the draft of the law on foreign investments submitted by the Cabinet of Ministers. The session that considered this issue started with a report from Economy Minister Altay Tleuberdin, who said, inter alia:

"Today's draft Law on Foreign Investments pursues the aim of providing the maximum acceptable conditions for the activities of foreign creditors, broadening the notion of foreign investments, and providing a wider range of guarantees and opportunities for foreign investors' activity in the republic. Its aim is to attract direct and portfolio investments into the republic as a general alternative to loan capital."

The concluding report by the Committee on Economic Reform, the main body assessing the draft, noted as a positive fact that of its 33 articles, six had dropped from the document and 12 reworked. The draft differs from the original wording in three fundamental areas: In the creation of conditions affording most-favored status for investors, legislative reinforcement of guarantees, and resolution of disputes.

The draft was discussed by committees and subjected to the appropriate expert examination. The experience of other CIS countries was taken into consideration, as was international practice.

The deputies then went on to discuss it article by article. Answering a question about openness in the investment sphere, one that interested many of those present in the hall, the minister assured them that an obligation to provide information about decisions on the use of such

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funds had been stipulated; such information would be published in the newspapers and on radio and television.

Contradictory arguments arose during the debate on the first article, which defines general terms and concepts. Deputies Berik Dzhubandykov and Toktar Aubakirov voiced their comments. Aubakirov was not indifferent to the issue of investment sites either, bearing in mind that these might include military sites, something which, he said, should be ruled out.

The article on government guarantees provoked a protracted discussion on the agreements concluded with foreign investors. The parliamentarians returned to this article several times in the process of discussing the draft. "I think foreign investors need to be given guarantees even to cover war, natural disasters, and changes in the government or the state system," Olzhas Suleymenov [People's Congress leader] said.

Deputy Valentin Makalkin submitted a substantial amendment, insisting that investors should be given guarantees in cases established by the president and in conformity with this law.

Deputy Prime Minister Viktor Sobolov, deputies Kuanish Alpysbekov, Kuramys Yermekov, and Anatoliy Ryabtsev, and many others came up with clarifications and proposals during the debate.

Once they had adopted Article 11, the deputies did not engage in extensive discussions until the need arose to clarify the truth in the final article, Article 33.

However, the Supreme Council resolved the problems quickly and by the lunch break it had passed the law on foreign investments and the resolution bringing it into force.

Kyrgyzstan

President Akayev Appoints Foreign Policy Adviser

LD0401185595 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1546 GMT 4 Jan 95

[From the "Presidential Bulletin" feature No. 1 (744): compiled by Nikolay Zherebtsov, Andrey Petrovskiy; edited by Vladimir Shishlin]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] President Askar Akayev appointed Ishenbay Abdyrazakov his foreign policy adviser. Abdyrazakov is a career diplomat who for years was a Soviet consul general in Sapporo, Japan, and has been a consulting expert in the international department of the Kyrgyz president's headquarters.

Bakyr Abdrisayev, department head, told Interfax that Abdyrazakov had coauthored the concept of Kyrgyzstan's foreign policy. In Abdrisyev's words, Abdyrazakov's arrival in the president's administration brought about positive changes in the president's and country's foreign policy. In particular, Kyrgyzstan's activities in relations with other countries and international organizations began to show balance and maturity.

Abdrisayev emphasized that Abdyrazakov would advocate non-interference into internal affairs of other countries.

Interior Minister Resigns But Keeps Post

LD0501051195 Bishkek Kyrgyz Radio First Program Network in Russian 1400 GMT 4 Jan 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Today the president of the Kyrgyz Republic signed a decree.

The resignation of Major-General Abdybek Asankulovich Sutalinov, acting minister of internal affairs of the Kyrgyz Republic, is accepted while entrusting him temporarily with implementing the powers of the minister of internal affairs of the Kyrgyz Republic.

[signed] President Askar Akayev of the Kyrgyz Republic. Government House, Bishkek.

[dated] 4 January 1995.

Interior Ministry Officials Resign En Masse

LD0501061495 Bishkek Kyrgyz Radio First Program Network in Russian 1400 GMT 4 Jan 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The Council on Security issues under the president of the Kyrgyz Republic held a regular session today. It examined the activities of certain ministries and departments on implementing the decrees of the head of state, as well as previous resolutions of the council. Considering the ever-worsening criminal situation, both in the Kyrgyz Republic and other CIS countries, the Security Council devoted special attention to measures which are aimed at defending the rights of citizens and ensuring public order. In connection with this, a detailed analysis was made of the efficiency of the activities of law enforcement bodies, including subdivisions of the republic's Interior Ministry, which is the main coordinator in fighting criminal elements and in ensuring the constitutional rights of citizens and protecting their legal interests.

It is generally known that for various objective and subjective reasons, the number of crimes has increased both in society and among militia officers, which gives rise to unfavorable criticism by the population. Everyday life is evidence that despite today's large army of officers of the Interior Ministry, it is still unable to organize efficient work against the criminal world or ensure the necessary public order in places where people gather, cities and major population centers. The authority of the militia as the defender of citizens' interests is falling in the eyes of society.

In these conditions the necessity of implementing sweeping changes in the system of internal affairs has become evident, where the most pressing problem is the

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training of personnel and their deployment, only on the basis of their personal and professional qualities, and also organizational and staff changes or the distribution of certain functions of subdivisions, detaching some structures from the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Internal Affairs.

The session of the Security Council gave a principled assessment of the activities of the Ministry of Internal Affairs and gave necessary recommendations to the heads of other power structures.

The leadership of the Ministry of Internal Affairs appealed to the president of the Kyrgyz Republic at the session of the Security Council. The statement said: Considering the importance of the situation, which has arisen and the current circumstances in the Kyrgyz Republic, and being aware of a certain share of our personal responsibility for it, we completely accept your fair criticism and remarks, which were made at the collegium of the Ministry of Internal Affairs on 24 December 1994, and we believe that it is our debt of honor to ask you, esteemed president, to accept our resignation. We are ready to carry out our duties honestly and conscientiously until a final decision is made.

Taking into consideration the above situation and these personal wishes, the Security Council deemed it necessary that the resignation of the Interior Ministry's leadership as a whole, i.e. the minister and all his deputies, be accepted.

The resignation of the leadership of the Ministry of Internal Affairs was accepted by the president of the Kyrgyz Republic and the implementation of the duties of the minister was placed on Major-General Abdybek Sutalinov until a new leader is appointed

The Security Council also carefully studied the draft plan of measures to strengthen public order and increase the fight against crime in 1995 and gave ministries and departments a month to finalize it.

Tajikistan

Democrats Intend To Settle Conflict Against Government

LD0401210195 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1918 GMT 4 Jan 95

[By ITAR-TASS diplomatic correspondent Andrey Shtorkh]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Moscow January 4 TASS—The new armed clashes on the Tajik-Afghan border is a provocation organized by the opponents to a peaceful settlement of the inter-Tajik conflict, Azam Afzali, member of the presidium of the opposition Democratic Party of Tajikistan (DPT), who is also a coordinator of the DPT activities in Moscow, said in an interview with ITAR-TASS here today.

The presidium of the Democratic Party of Tajikistan took a decision to stop completely the armed struggle against the Tajik Government as far back as October, 1994, Azam Afzali informed.

As distinct from other opposition parties, specifically, the Islamic Party of Revival, the Democratic Party of Tajikistan recognizes the results of the presidential elections which were held in the republic in November last year in which Emomali Rakhmanov won a victory.

What is more, the Democratic Party of Tajikistan intends to take an active part in parliamentary elections scheduled for the spring of this year, which will allow it, in the event of a success, to carry out legal opposition activities through its representatives in the parliament, Azam Afzali pointed out.

Peaceful Solution Urged to Inter-Tajik Conflict

LD0401132195 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1158 GMT 4 Jan 95

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Galina Gridneva]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Dushanbe January 4 TASS—Tajikistan continues to adhere to a peaceful political settlement of the inter-Tajik conflict and declares that it remains in favour of participating in the fourth round of inter-Tajik negotiations fixed for mid-January. Davlatali Davlatov, press secretary of the Tajik president, told this to Russian reporters on Wednesday [4 January].

Davlatov said that the armed Tajik opposition unilaterally violated more than once the inter-Tajik ceasefire agreement and was involved in other hostile actions on the Tajik-Afghan border and within Tajikistan, also in the incident of January 2 when nine Russian Frontier Guards were killed. Nevertheless, the Tajik leaders believes that a peaceful, civilised dialogue with the opposition is the only way of settling the Tajik conflict, he said.

'Islamic Rebirth' Movement Attempts Infiltration

LD0501092295 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0632 GMT 5 Jan 95

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Galina Gridneva]

[FBIS Translated Text] Dushanbe, 5 Jan—The ITAR-TASS correspondent was told at the press group of the Command of the Russian troops in Tajikistan that in the past 24 hours, Russian border guards have thwarted two attempts at illicit infiltration from Afghanistan into Tajikistan of gangs of fighters from the Islamic Rebirth movement of Tajikistan. One of them tried on Wednesday [4 January] morning to cross at the section of the 12th border post of Moscow border detachment. A little earlier on the same section in the area of the Safed-Song bifurcation, four border violators were detected. At 1700 local time, the border guards of the 4th border post of Kalaynikhumbskiy border detachment

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thwarted a crossing by armed mojahedin under covering fire from the Afghan bank. Seven firing positions of the enemy were silenced by the return fire. There were no losses among the Russian border guards.

Uzbekistan

Trade Agreement Signed With Kazakhstan

LD0501062595 Almaty Kazakhstan Television Network in Russian 1500 GMT 4 Jan 95

[FBIS Translated Text] As a KAZTAG correspondent has been informed, yesterday at the Cabinet of Ministers in Tashkent an agreement was signed between the governments of Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan on trade and economic cooperation in 1995. In line with the agreement the two sides will strive to integrate their economies into world economic relations. Uzbekistan will supply 1.5 billion cubic meters of natural gas to Kazakhstan this year. The cost of one million cubic meters of gas is 50,000 dollars. That is considerably lower than the world price. The supplies will be carried out on a clearing basis and are exempt from customs duties.

Nigmatzhan Isingarin, deputy prime minister of Kazakhstan and Abdulkhashim Mutalov, prime minister of Uzbekistan signed the agreement.

Tax Committee Chairman on Taxation Policy

LD0501103895 Tashkent SAVDOGAR in Uzbek 27 Dec 94 p 2

[Article by Sh. Gataulin, chairman of the State Tax Committee]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Market relations are taking shape in Uzbekistan. The government of the republic is effectively carrying out socioeconomic reforms relying on the people's support. [passage omitted]

Currently, more than 100,000 enterprises and organizations, as well as more than 210,000 individually working citizens, are the main taxpayers in the republic. At the same time, each person making profits pays taxes to the budget. Over the past year, enterprises and organizations, legal persons, made up 72.9 percent of the total tax return while natural persons were 11.3 percent.

The number of taxpayers increases from day to day. According to the results of the past nine months of the current year [1994] during the third quarter of the year alone the number of legal persons increased by 725 and of individually working persons by 29,121. For the transition period to the market economy, this is of course normal and a pleasing fact. What causes anxiety here is that, together with such growth, an increase in infringements of the law is taking place. Over the last year, about 20,000 law infringements were discovered at enterprises and organizations in the republic during inspections designed to find cases of violations of the taxation laws. About 24,000 people were brought to administrative accountability and criminal proceedings were instituted against 46 persons. For the faults of their leaders the enterprises were fined the sum of 74 million soms, and about 80 million soms were returned to the budget. [passage omitted]

A new private enterprise is freed from many taxes. Our experts, together with the owners of several enterprises in Tashkent, researched the amounts of taxes, and its results are characteristic of other private enterprises in the republic. These three enterprises, specializing in producing consumer goods, showed that taxes and other payments made up, respectively, 18, 25, and 21 tiyins per som of their incomes. If we keep back the payment to non-budget funds, then their tax return to the budget will be 6, 14, and 18 tiyins per som of income. In the United States, France, Germany, Turkey, and even in Russia this figure comes to 40-50 percent. But in spite of this the number of private enterprises producing consumer goods is increasing very slowly. [passage omitted]

Our special concern is the problems and negative phenomena arising in the work of individually working citizens. Over the last year, there were more than 60,000 cases of law violations by them. Inspections showed that the majority of violations are committed by individually working people engaged in trade. It has come to a situation when some consumer goods produced in our republic have disappeared from open trade, and consumers pay exorbitant prices to profiteers to buy them. [passage omitted]

We have the possibilities to train and consult the heads and experts of enterprises. We send our employees not only to inspect the enterprises but also to explain tax legislation, and conduct seminars and we are using our possibilities in that direction. But in the handling of the army of individually working citizens, which make up 60 percent of entrepreneurs engaged in trade, our possibilities are very limited. In addition, the ranks of this army are filled by young people who have recently left school desks and are now trying to start a "business." Hundreds of young people are wasting their lives selling several packs of cigarettes and chewing gum spread out in front of them instead of working or studying. This fact is very concerning. You cannot call it trade or enterprise. We are constantly carrying out explanatory work among the population in the press, television, and radio. But it is not enough. That is why we came up with proposals to the Cabinet of Ministers on introducing special lessons on tax legislation in the teaching programs at higher educational institutions, secondary specialized schools, and in residential areas. I think this issue will be resolved positively and it will play its role in bringing up young people in understanding the taxes and in taking the right attitude toward them.

I would like to draw your attention and highlight here one point. Relations between the taxation system and entrepreneurs are based on trust in the entrepreneur. If the butcher selling meat says that he bought all his meat

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for a certain price and it cost him a certain amount of money per kilogram and he was selling it for another price, then the inspector will trust him. He will charge taxes according to the profit stated by the butcher. The same procedure applies for collecting taxes from the trader who brought goods from abroad. The amount liable for taxes is also not heavy. Individually working citizens pay taxes according to the profit they make and this is only about to 15-20 percent. And we have very few businessmen in our republic who pay 30-40 percent of their profits.

Apart from this, our state envisaged a number of tax exemptions for certain categories of citizens. In particular, war veterans and disabled men, the disabled from childhood, the blind, heroine mothers [who have 10 children], people who participated in combat operations in Afghanistan and other countries, and citizens who worked at Chernobyl are freed from taxes on the part of their incomes not exceeding four times the minimum wage. [passage omitted]

Currently a single computer program is being worked out for collecting taxes and other payments as taxes from natural persons for land and real estates, for transport vehicles, individually working activities and so on. According to this program, each citizen will have his own figure as a taxpayer and will settle accounts with the budget according to this. In line with this, a citizen's various incomes will be registered during the year and will be used when filling in the tax return. Now the information about people working at two jobs or by contract and about different services is being supplied to the tax inspectorate via this system. The program for calculating the profits and collecting taxes from the owners of transport vehicles and individually working citizens will operate from next year [1995]. And the program for registering all people liable to pay land and real estate taxes will also operate in all districts of Tashkent Region. [passage omitted]

We are trying to take measures to prevent every incorrect action by tax inspectors and we are capable of doing this. "The confidential telephone" at the state taxation committee and regional tax inspectorates is organized not only for consulting but also for eliminating defects jointly in a coordinated way. We always remember that it is the tax inspector in his work and communication with taxpayers who creates public opinion about tax inspectors and the taxation system. In line with this, personnel are being chosen and trained and the sphere is being cleared of unworthy people. For example, over the last nine months, 27 employees of tax inspectorates and customs offices who were previously sentenced for crimes were revealed and fired from their posts and 21 people were fired for shortcomings in their jobs.

At the same time, taking into account our own possibilities, we are trying to back up materially our employees to the necessary degree, so that the inspector whose duty is to collect the necessary funds to the state budget should not be tempted by the money of a dishonest money maker. [passage omitted]

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Armenia

Reaction to Ban on ARF-Dashnaktsutyun Party

Condemned by Democratic Party

NC0401175495 Yerevan NOYAN TAPAN in English 1539 GMT 4 Jan 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] 04/01/95 (NOYAN TAPAN)—The Armenian Democratic Party issued a statement, condemning the recent President's decree on temporary suspension of the ARF-"Dashnaktsutyn" Party. The Democratic Party of Armenia views this move as being not only an encroachment upon the political organization but also as violation of principles of democracy, moreover, this fact reminds the "black days" of the recent past.

The Armenian Democratic Party also considers that the presidential decree contradicts Armenia's legislation, since only Supreme Court is entitled to suspend or liquidate this or that political organization. "As a matter of fact, the main safeguard of lawfulness in the country violates the law. The move, taken by President proves that concentration of power in one hands is fraught with serious aftermath", the statement reads.

"The Decree pursues the aim to turn people's attention from social and economic hardships and current moral and psychological situation as well as from President's unfulfilled promises. By this move the atmosphere of terror and fear, and autocracy, which will enable President and his supporters to rule until the year of 2000 is being created.

"The Democratic Party of Armenia can not ignore the fact that President's move exacerbates the split in the nation and makes hard impact on Armenian Cause and defensive potentials of Karabakh. The history does not have any example, when lawful state was established with violation of all legal norms.

"The Democratic Party of Armenia condemns any form of terrorism, be it individual or state terrorism. Any decree, contradicting the legislation, must not be in force, therefore President must immediately announce the decree invalid", the statement reads.

Republican Party Supports Ban

NC0401172795 Yerevan NOYAN TAPAN in English 1539 GMT 4 Jan 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] 04/01/95 (NOYAN TAPAN)—"Judging by the information on the secret organization 'Dro' presented by the Armenian President on December 29, we consider President's decision to suspend ARF [Armenian Revolutionary Federation]-'Dashnaktsutyun' to be correct", the Chairman of the Council of the Republican Party of Armenia Andranik Markaryan said. The latter, however, said that he did not envisage the process of establishing the Armenian statehood without the Armenian Revolutionary Federation, but at the same time he protested against the existence of any special agencies, which pose threat to the statehood, independently of who is currently at power.

"We wish all the members of 'Dashnaktsutyun' strength and belief and with all our heart we wish that ideas by Khristapor [one of the three founders of the ARF], which have been living for more than 100 years, be implemented," Markaryan said.

Aide: Ban Will Defuse Tension

LD0401184195 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1546 GMT 4 Jan 95

[From the "Presidential Bulletin" feature: compiled by Nikolay Zherebtsov, Andrey Petrovskiy, and edited by Vladimir Shishlin]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] President Levon Ter-Petrosyan's decree (of December 28) to suspend the activity by the opposition Dashnaktsutyun Party will not upset the country's internal stability, Presidential Aide Levon Zurabyan told Interfax.

In fact, he said, the decree is aimed at defusing tension and preventing terrorist attacks in the republic. IF note: Dashnaktsutyun is accused of "setting up its own militant groups, carrying out assassinations of political leaders and planning other terrorist attacks," running an international drug trafficking route from Beirut to Moscow via Yerevan and establishing illegal economic structures and engagement in extortion racket. It is also accused of setting up its own military intelligence service complete with a network of agents engaged in gathering sensitive information of military and economic nature.

Ter-Petrosyan in a recent speech on national television accused the party's intelligence service of involvement in the assassination of former KGB Chief Marius Yuzbashyan two years ago and former Mayor of Yerevan Ambartsum Galstyan in December.

In the meantime, the Dashnaktsutyun party bureau has denied the charges describing them as a fake up.

In a statement made available to Interfax last weekend, the party leadership accused the president of exceeding his powers while suspending activities by Dashnaktsutyun.

Party leaders called on their rank and file members in and outside Armenia for restraint warning against any steps that might worsen the country's economic and social plight. They said that no presidential decrees could deprive the party of its right to work for the welfare of the people.

Head of the parliamentary commission for legal matters Kim Balayan says the decree is not legally binding. In an

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interview with Interfax, he said that under the country's law on public organizations, courts of law can alone pass such rulings.

Balayan denied that his party was involved in any terrorist or anti—government activity in spite of government charges. "We could have taken up the matter in court, but this will make no sense because the judiciary is under presidential control," he said.

In the meantime, the Justice Ministry is expected to appeal to the High Court to uphold the presidential decree on the grounds that Dashnaktsutyun violated two articles of the law on public organizations by allowing foreigners into its ranks and creating its own secret services.

Some reports say that a number of party members were arrested and searches held at the party's headquarters in Yerevan. Our correspondent in Yerevan says that police have tightened security at Metro stations and motorways and security guards were put up at government offices to prevent any terrorist attacks.

Dashnaktsutyun Newspapers, HAYLUR Press Agency Suspended

NC0401174095 Yerevan NOYAN TAPAN in English 1539 GMT 4 Jan 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] 04/01/95 (NOYAN TAPAN)—Hrayr Karapetyan, a member of the Armenian Revolutionary Federation [ARF]-"Dashnaktsutyun" was arrested. Also a member of ARF "Dashnaktsutyun's" Bureau Vahan Hovannisyan was arrested and shortly released.

The official organs of "Dashnaksutyun", namely, the "YERKIR" daily, the "AZATAMART" weekly as well as "HAYLUR" NEWS AGENCY were suspended. According to the Director of the news agency BAGRAT SADOYAN, the property of the agency was confiscated without an appropriate warrant by the Attorney-General. Also publishing of newspapers the "ARAGAST" and the "MUTENIK" was stopped. Officially these two papers do not belong to ARF-"Dashnaktsutyun", however, their editors-in-chief are members of this party.

Mayor's Murder Causes Parliamentary Crisis

954F0742A Yerevan RESPUBLIKA ARMENIYA in Russian 23 Dec 94 p 1

[News Department report: "Will the Supreme Council Take Us All With It? The Crisis Continues To Intensify"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The assassination of Ambartsum Galstyan, the former mayor of Yerevan, has become the cause for a crisis of the Supreme Council, which is of unprecedented intensity and which will, evidently, be hard to overcome. Deputies of a number of factions have announced their resignation from parliament or a suspension of their activity. They include members from the Union of Action and the National Democratic Union and members of parliament of the National Crisis and Free Members of Parliament groups. They will be joined by certain communist deputies also, possibly. Thus, the total number of "refuseniks" could reach 50-55.

Of course, the reasons for the crisis are very profound, and A. Galstyan's tragic death merely served as the "primer" for the present events. The chronic absence of a quorum, the inability (or unwillingness) to work painstakingly on the creation of the legal field, the low level of competence of many of the people's elect—all this could not have failed sooner or later to have been reflected in the overall situation. But the fact that parliament has begun to "die" not only before its appointed time but without having even discussed here either the new election act or the draft future constitution, work on the reconciled text of which will become bogged down once again, it has to be thought, would appear highly negative. It is not hard to imagine how this could be reflected in the overall situation in the country and in society and in the authority of the representative power as a whole.

The main demand of those who are refusing to take part in the work of the Supreme Council is the resignation of the Presidium and the speaker of parliament. They are to blame, allegedly, for the inadequate organization of business and the low capability of the parliamentary structures. It is not for us to judge how far such charges correspond to reality. But it has to be noted that many of the "refuseniks" are themselves the leaders and members of a whole number of standing commissions and are members of the Presidium. In addition, whereas it is customary to maintain that the bloc of parties of the right quite dependably controls the parliamentary majority, this cannot be said about the Presidium. It is for this reason, evidently, that the one-sided charges of "disorganization of work" cannot in themselves be considered the truth in the last instance. It takes two to tango, as they say, and it would be very odd were the speaker of parliament and the members of the Presidium who are members of the "rightwing bloc" to purposively develop the work of the legislative body, overcoming the resistance of their opponents here, merely so as to become the target of their criticism.

It would seem that A. Galstyan's assassination has been used by the parliamentary opposition for further pressure on the executive branch of power headed by the president. Halting the work of the Supreme Council at this time would mean first and foremost the killing off of discussion of the draft new budget and an attempt thereby to tie the government's hands in the assimilation of foreign credit and to thereby discredit it. And, in the event of it getting its wishes and having objectionable leaders removed, taking part also in a new "division of the pie": for money is already coming from overseas....

All this is being accompanied by an inflammation of an atmosphere of fear and uncertainty and talk about the

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possibility of new acts of terrorism and new casualties. It is hard to call all this composed and sober policy. What are we coming to, citizen legislators and, simply, citizens of the country? What abyss could open wide before us? Today is the time to think about this.

The crisis of the Supreme Council has coincided with the start of the parliamentary recess. Now, according to the standing orders, only the president or the speaker can convene the legislators for a special session. It is hard to say, therefore, how events will develop in the coming days and how expedient it would be to tear the deputies away from their vacation if the "refuseniks" were to refuse, as before. Nor is it yet clear what the new deputies' Coordinating Council intends to do. Perhaps one further "mini-parliament" will emerge? If events develop according to such a scenario, it cannot be ruled out that the present Supreme Council will take us all with it.

Parliament Deputies Resign, Form Assembly

954F0742B Yerevan RESPUBLIKA ARMENIYA in Russian 24 Dec 94 p 1

[News Department report: "Is a 'Shadow' Structure Being Formed?"]

[FBIS Translated Text] As already reported, a news conference of deputies of the Supreme Council who have united in the Deputies' Assembly was held yesterday. Paruyr Ayrikyan, Shavarsh Kocharyan, Seyran Bagdasaryan, and Albert Bagdasaryan took part.

In their opinion, a totalitarian regime is gradually being established in the republic, political terrorism and killings are becoming commonplace occurrences, the individual's right to life is being ignored, the vast majority of the people are condemned to a beggarly existence, and the state has become an instrument for the retention of power by the present leadership of the republic. Not only the upcoming parliamentary elections but also the future of the entire people are in jeopardy.

Under these conditions, deputies elected by the people and unwilling to submit to the powers that be consider it their duty to adopt measures to restore the prestige of the legislative body and its ability to work.

Deputies from the Union of Action and the National Democratic Union and the Free Members of Parliament and National Progress groups totaling thus far 47 persons, while not participating in the business of the Supreme Council, have at the same time no intention of terminating their parliamentary activity, their political activity even less. In addition, the deputies demand the resignation of the Presidium of the Supreme Council and its speaker Babken Ararktsyan. It was announced at the news conference also that the "refuseniks" could be joined by individual deputies from the Communist Party of Armenia.

The members of the newly formed council of deputies believe it essential to convene on Monday, 26 December, a special session of parliament to discuss the current situation. It is not entirely clear, it is true, how they intend to continue their activity in the Supreme Council after having declined membership of it. In addition, the very legitimacy of the structure that they have created is dubious. We would recall that there are in the parliament of Armenia more than 240 deputies, and for this reason alone no one self-proclaimed body, uniting a manifest minority of members of parliament, what is more, may be considered legal. Only time will tell, for that matter, how the crisis that has now encompassed the legislative branch of power of the republic will develop.

Karabakh Conflict Refugee Statistics Reported

954F0742C Yerevan RESPUBLIKA ARMENIYA in Russian 24 Dec 94 p 1

[SNARK report: "For Whom Are the Figures Being Inflated?"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The total number of Azerbaijani refugees who abandoned their homes as a result of the Karabakh conflict constituted 562,000, of whom 477,000 have been settled in Azerbaijan in homes left by Armenian refugees. This is attested by statistical data prepared by the Nagorno-Karabakh Republic Ministry of Foreign Affairs on the basis of material of population censuses of Azerbaijan and Armenia in recent years, SNARK reports.

Of the 562,000 Azerbaijani refugees, 154,000 left Armenia, 38,000 left Nagornyy Karabakh, and 380,000 abandoned areas under the control of the Karabakh forces, leaving 104,000 homes altogether. At the same time, on the other hand, 350,000 Armenian refugees, who left in Azerbaijan more than 90,000 homes, left Azerbaijan for Armenia. Their homes have provided living quarters for 477,000 Azerbaijani refugees. At the same time, only 86,000 Armenian refugees have been settled in Azerbaijanis' homes in Armenia, and a further 25,000 Armenians have occupied Azerbaijani homes in the Nagorno-Karabakh Republic.

According to these figures, 260,000 Armenian and 65,000 Azerbaijani refugees remain homeless at this time. Thus, the assertions of Baku officials concerning an alleged 1 million Azerbaijani refugees do not correspond to reality and have been inflated by a factor of at least 15.

Azerbaijan

Russia Accused of Exceeding CFE Troop Limits in Caucasus

NC0401210095 Baku TURAN in English 1641 GMT 4 Jan 95

["Russia Concentrates on North Caucasus Military Group, Exceeding the Quota of Agreement on Usual Armament in Europe"—TURAN headline]

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